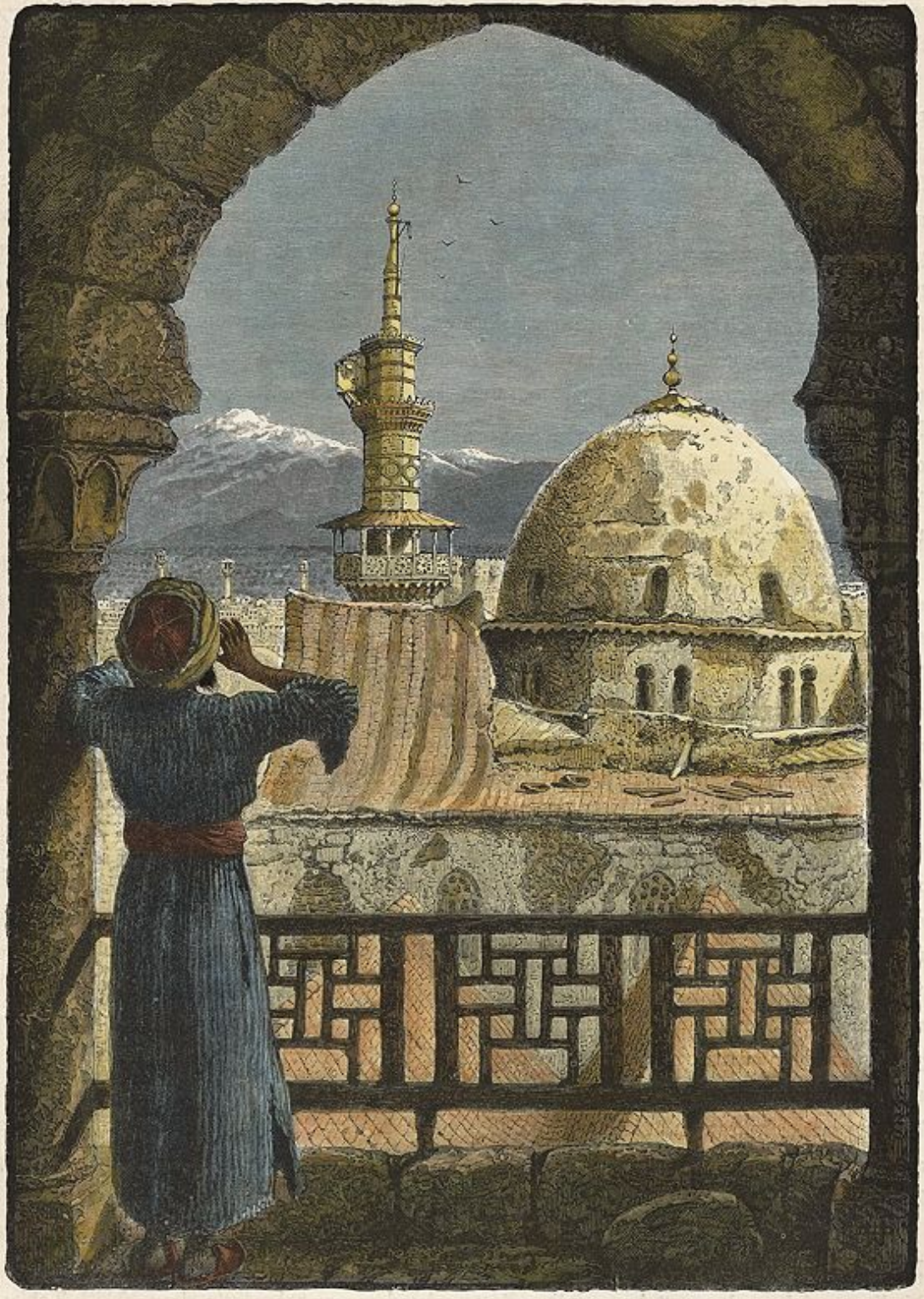
Genesis and Evolution of Adhan



A MUEDDIN CHANTING THE CALL TO PRAYER FROM A GALLERY OF THE MINARET OF 'ISA (JESUS).

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THE HISTORY OF THE *ADHĀN*: A VIEW FROM THE HADITH LITERATURE

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In most hadith collections, there are narratives concerned with the so-called beginning of the *adhān*, *badʾ al-adhān* or *badʾ al-nidāʾ*. They recount the introduction of the Islamic call to prayer and explain how Muslims, inspired by Jewish and Christian practices, developed their own ritual. The history of the *adhān* and its introduction raises numerous questions. Why and how was the Islamic call to prayer introduced? What role did Jewish and Christian rituals play? Was there a development phase or was it always the same set of chanted formulae? Who were the people interested in the history of its introduction and why did they narrate it?

Using close textual analysis and recent methodological development in hadith studies, I have reconstructed a potential common structure underlying all the texts, which I have called the 'proto-narrative'. The results of my research show that the narrators and transmitters used this proto-narrative to construct different narratives, variously intertwining historical facts with oneiric traditions, disguised political statements or religious claims. Often, we can identify the characteristics of transmission processes by certain narrators or collectors. Systematic analysis of the primary sources was performed with the help of network visualisation tools to produce data-dense graphs of transmission, unfolding in time and space. The results of the present research contribute to a better understanding of the birth of the Islamic call to prayer at the time of the Prophet and its cultural implications for the following decades. They also shed light on the mechanisms employed in some of the narratives to promote different viewpoints.

General Outline

When the narratives concerned with the introduction of the *adhān* are put together, it appears clearly that they all follow the same storyline despite their numerous differences: at some point Muslims felt the need to develop

their call to prayer. They thought about, or used, the Jewish trumpet or the Christian *semantron*, before someone suggested a call to prayer consisting of chanted formulae. The accounts narrating the introduction of the *adhān* can be divided into three different categories in terms of content (*matn*) and chain of transmitters (*isnād*). The first category contains narratives attributed to Ibn ᶜUmar that are present in almost all the main hadith collections. Its peculiarity is the preponderant role it attributes to ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. The second category encompasses narratives allegedly narrated by Anas ibn Mālik. It is present in only three collections of hadith and characteristically suggests lighting a fire to indicate the time of the prayers. It mentions the *iqāmah*, the second call to prayer, along with the *adhān*. The third category is more complex: its chains of transmission are divided into many branches and the story narrated displays more details, its distinctive feature being the description of a dream as divine inspiration for the establishment of the *adhān*. These categories will be called, respectively, categories 1, 2 and 3, also abbreviated C1, C2 and C3.

The Sources

The texts narrating the introduction of the *adhān* were extracted from hadith collections and historical treatises. In order to facilitate the presentation of the large amount of information obtained through the close analysis of this material, I have usually limited the sources presented here to the third/ninth century. However, I shall mention later materials as well when relevant. Table 2.1 lists the main primary sources and the additional later materials in chronological order, with the number of narratives they contain for each of the category C1, C2 and C3:

Category 1

The first category encompasses six reports gathered in the collections of ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah and Ibn Ḥanbal.[1] The reports are almost identical, with only slight lexical differences. The text below highlights these differences in bold, separated by slashes:

كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلاَةَ، لَيْسَ يُنَادَى لَهَا/بِها فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ]اتَّخِذُوا/بَلْ[بُوقًا/قرنا مِثْلَ قَرْنِ الْيَهُودِ فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ/فأَذِّن بِالصَّلاَةِ

> When the Muslims arrived at Medina, they used to assemble for the prayer, without there being any call **to/for** it [the prayer]. Once they discussed this. Some people suggested the use of a *nāqūs* like the *nāqūs* of the Christians, others proposed a ***būq/qarn*** like the ***būq/qarn*** [horn] used by the Jews, but ᶜUmar said, 'Would you send a man to call [people to gather] for the prayer?' Then the Messenger of God . . . said, 'Bilāl, stand up and **call/chant the *adhān* for prayer**.'[2]

Table 2.1 Primary sources and the number of narratives they contain for each category

Sources: third/ninth century	**C1**	**C2**	**C3**
Mālik ibn Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*			1
al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*			1
ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*	1		2
Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah*			2
Ibn Saᶜd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*			3
al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*	1	2	
Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*	1	2	
Abū Dāwud, *Sunan*			5
Tirmidhī, *Jāmiᶜ*	1		1
Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*			2
Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*			3
Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*			1
Dārimī, *Sunan*			1
Fourth–fifth/tenth–eleventh century			
Nasāʾī, *Sunan*	1		
Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*	1		
Ibn Ḥibban, *Ṣaḥīḥ*			1
al-Nuᶜmān, *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*			1
Ibn Bābawayh, *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*			1
al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*	1	1	2

Chains of Transmission

I have displayed the transmission chains of these narratives in a diagram, taking into consideration time and space beside the transmission paths (Figure 2.1). Each horizontal stripe represents a lapse of twenty-five years. The transmitters are arranged according to the reported dates of their death. Transmitters who are linked to a specific city have been circled with a line representing their respective cities. Figure 2.1 shows that the story gained popularity from the first half of the third/ninth century onwards. This means that the main foci of the narratives are likely to reflect the concerns of the generations of these times. Speech bubbles have been added to indicate the lexical modifications introduced by ᶜAbd al-Razzāq.

Starting in Medina with Ibn ᶜUmar (d. 74/693–4?) and Nāfiᶜ (d. 117/735–6?), the first category of narratives moved initially southwards towards Mecca (Ibn Jurayj, d. 150/767?) and then northwards mainly to Baghdad, where many of the transmitters were active: Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad (d. 206/821–2), Abū Bakr ibn Abī al-Naḍr (d. 245/859–60), Hārūn ibn ᶜAbd Allāh (d. 243/858) and Maḥmūd ibn Ghaylān (d. 249/864?). We have here one of these complex cases that can fall into Haider and Sadeghi's category of accounts linked to multiple locations and without clear traces of

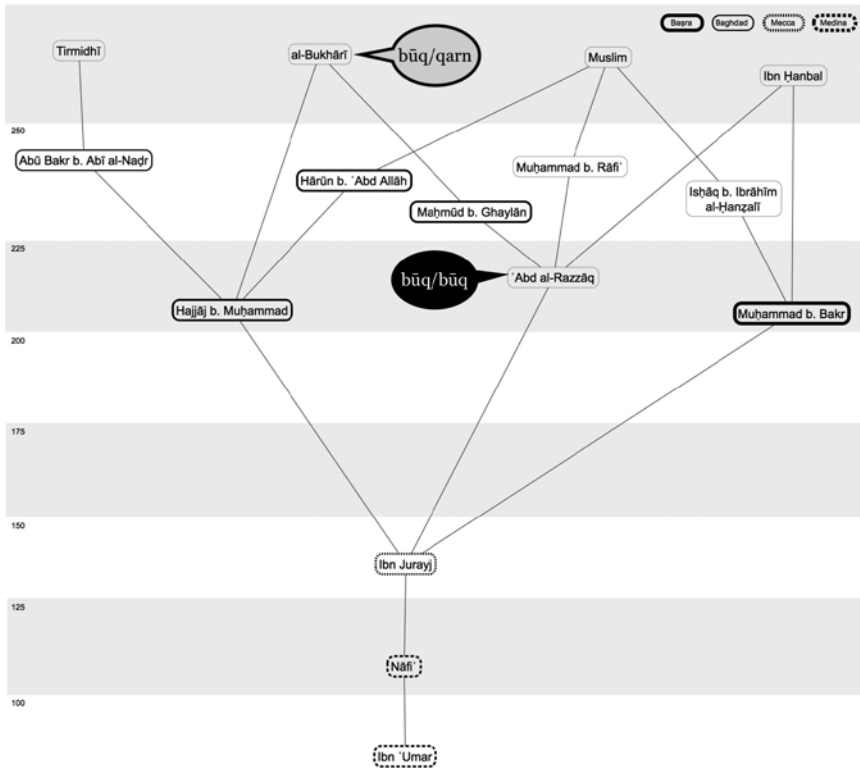

Figure 2.1 Chains of transmitters for C1

regionalism.[3] The lexical and thematic analyses below confirm the information provided by the *asānīd*.

Lexical Discrepancies

There are three kinds of lexical discrepancies in the narratives of C1:

1. insignificant differences without impact on the meaning;
2. *qarn* and *būq*;
3. *adhān* and *nidāʾ*.

The first lexical difference is between the prepositions *li* and *bi*, and may be explained either as a copyist's mistake, or simply the narrator or compiler's choice since the two prepositions in the sentence have the same meaning. The same may be said about the repetition of *ittakhidhū* in al-Tirmidhī's recension or the particle *bal* which is not present in Muslim's version. The repetition seems to be a rhythmic addition without consequence for the meaning. As for the particle, it adds a nuance, which could be translated

as 'rather'. It may also be considered an empty word that can be ignored without affecting the general meaning of the sentence. Muslim is again the one narrating a different version without *bal*. Such lexical discrepancies highlight the fact that perfect *verbatim* transmission is rare and the following examples suggest that it might not have been a priority or major concern among transmitters.

The second kind of lexical discrepancies concern the Jewish trumpet. Since Jews were using different kinds of horns and trumpets, it was possible to confuse them. Nevertheless, most transmitters of C1 seem to be familiar with the Jewish instrument *qeren* (Hebrew קֶרֶן, Aram. *qəran* קרן *qarnā* קרנא, Arab. *qarn* قرن), as they use its Arabic equivalent without feeling the need to explain its meaning.[4] Also, the word *būq* (from the Greek βωχάνη or Latin *buccina*) does not appear to describe any of the Jewish horn-like instruments. The question is therefore where and why *būq* occurs in the recensions of ᶜAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bukhārī. I see three possible explanations: (1) a transmission error on written notes of the report occurred on the two final letters of *qarn* and *būq*: *rāʾ*/*wāw* and *nūn*/*qāf*; (2) ᶜAbd al-Razzāq aimed to avoid the Hebrew word or he was addressing an audience more familiar with *būq* than with *qarn*; (3) finally, language usage evolved in some regions and *būq* started replacing there the word *qarn*, as in the Yemen, where ᶜAbd al-Razzāq was active.[5]

This particular type of terminological discrepancy in a small set of hadith reports shows the precedence given to meaning over literality. Verbatim transmission was not only difficult, but also not the priority, and al-Bukhārī gives a clear example for that: he chose to create a hybrid version of the recensions he received from Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad (with the repetition of *qarn*) and Maḥmūd ibn Ghaylān (with the repetition of *būq*), but he did not deem it necessary to provide justification for his choice, probably because it did not affect the general meaning.

The last lexical discrepancy concerns the use of two different words to describe the call to prayer: *adhān* and *nidāʾ*. All the narratives except one contain the phrase *yunādī bi-al-ṣalāh*, 'to call to prayer'. The verb *nādá* is the Qurʾānic word used to describe the call to prayer.[6] It shows that the early Muslims called to prayer without having an official term and an established ritual for it. The word *adhān* also appears in Qurʾān 9:3 to designate an announcement from God through the Prophet. The evolution from *nidāʾ* to *adhān* reveals how a simple means to call to prayer was transformed into a divine announcement and thus a religious ritual.[7] This was helped by the influence of Jews and Christians, who possessed developed religious rituals and sacred sounds.[8] While the *adhān* was surely not introduced as such overnight, it must have come about before significant divisions split the Muslim community, so that all Muslims could agree on its definition and adopt a common name to describe it. That several narratives insist on a role played by ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the introduction of the *adhān* raises the question of whether or not he played a role in this process.

ᶜUmar's Role

In C1, it is ᶜUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644) who introduced the new Islamic ritual to call Muslims to prayer. The narratives of the other two categories do not attribute such a role to ᶜUmar. This inconsistency suggests that ᶜUmar's involvement could have been apocryphal. Many people could have had reasons to create a strong bond between ᶜUmar and the *adhān*: his descendants during his caliphate (r. 13–23/634–44) to enhance his prestige as religious leader or later on, his supporters under the Umayyads in order to justify his position as religious and political authority, or under the ᶜAbbāsids as counter-propaganda against the new authorities.[9] Although there are no solid grounds to doubt ᶜUmar's involvement, it is likely that his role was exaggerated by certain narrators of C1. According to some sources, the caliph ᶜUthmān (r. 23–35/644–55) introduced modifications to the *adhān*.[10] It is therefore possible that his predecessor tried to harmonise the ritual, without success, and sought support in such narratives as C1's.

The Shiᶜi *adhān* brings forth one more argument in this hypothesis: its difference is more likely to have been a reaction to a Companion's decision than to a Prophetic tradition since the Shiᶜa only separated themselves from the rest of the community after Muḥammad's death. In fact, the *adhān* or the proto-*adhān* was probably introduced when the Muslim community had not split yet and could agree easily on a common ritual. After the disappearance of the unifying leader, several schisms occurred. As a result, it became increasingly difficult to establish new consensus between the different factions. The Shiᶜi *adhān* was likely to be a response to ᶜUmar's preference for a certain practice of the *adhān*. The narratives of C1, which are more concerned with ᶜUmar's role than with the formulae of the *adhān* for instance, must have started circulating during the reign of the second caliph or slightly after, at the time of Ibn ᶜUmar. Over time, it was certainly modified. The natural bias of any eye-witness, the bias of memories and 'memories of memories' as well as the actual purpose and the contemporary needs all partake in creating the narratives we have now.[11]

Category 2

The second category contains only four narratives from the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.[12] Both collectors mention two recensions with the same single strand, which then spread out in different branches.

Al-Bukhārī 10/1.1
قَالَ ذَكَرُوا النَّارَ وَالنَّاقُوسَ فَذَكَرُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Al-Bukhārī 10/2.2
قَالَ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصلوة بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُورُوا نَارًا أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Muslim 4/2.3
قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصَّلاَةِ بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُنَوِّرُوا نَارًا أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

Muslim 4/2.4
قَالَ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ قَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصلوة بِشَىْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَأَنْ يُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

English translation (the parts that differ are in italic; the parts that are common are in bold): *When people increased in number they discussed the question as to how to know the time for the prayer by some familiar means*. **They suggested** that a **fire** *be lit or that* a ***nāqūs*** *be struck. They mentioned the Jews and Christians*. **Bilāl was ordered to pronounce the wording of the *adhān* twice and of the *iqāmah* once**.[13]

The narratives can be divided into two parts: the introductions, which vary from one narrative to the other; and the conclusion, which is the same for each narrative and is also found alone in other hadith collections (see in Figure 2.2 the links which are not in bold). The *asānīd* of the *aḥādīth* narrating the conclusion indicate that this part was circulating mainly in Basra.

Figure 2.2 gathers the chains of transmission of the four narratives under

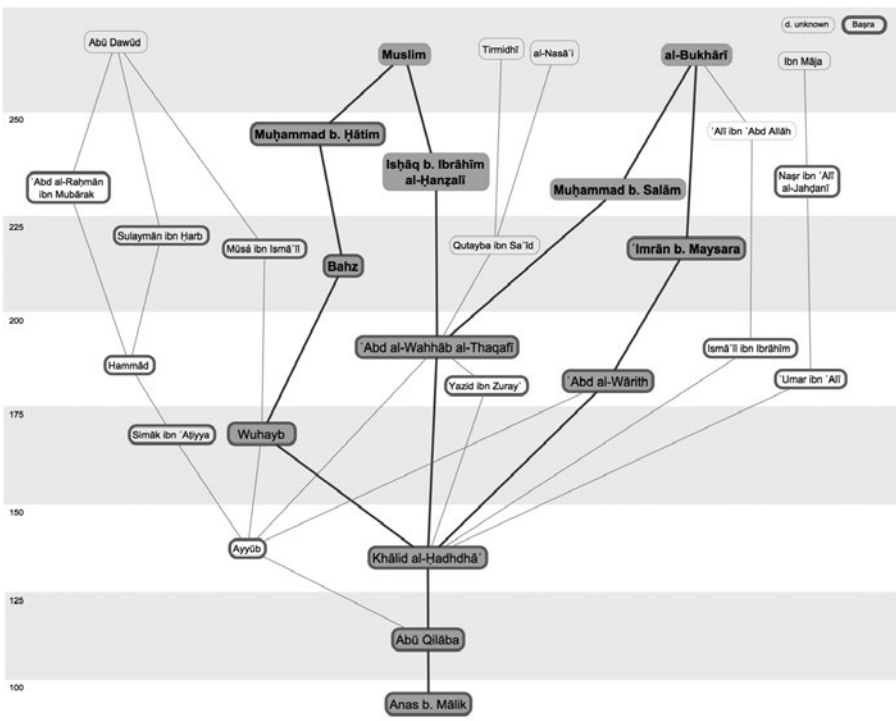

Figure 2.2 Chains of transmitters for *umira bilāl an yashfa*^{c} …

examination here. Transmitters and links are highlighted in bold, while the other simple links lead to the other narratives containing the conclusion only. Transmitters from Basra are circled with a thick stroke. The *isnād*-chains do not reach to the Prophet but to Anas ibn Mālik (d. 93/711–12).[14] This might indicate that the narrative started at the time of Abū Qilābah (d. 104/722–3?), who relied on Anas as a Companion to address the issue of concern in these narratives: the right number of repetitions for both the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*, that is, a ritual or *fiqh* question.[15] The introduction narrating the historical development of the *adhān* has then been added by some transmitters in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's versions of the narrative. In the black speech bubbles pertaining to the chains of transmissions of C2's narratives, Figure 2.3 shows which part was potentially added by which transmitter.

We observe here the creation of hybrid narratives which combine the historical introduction with the theological conclusion. This latter part reflects debates in Basra about the number of repetitions of the formulae in the calls to prayer. Abū Qilābah supported those defending two repetitions of the *takbīr* instead of the four advocated by others and adduced a maxim that he attributed to Anas ibn Mālik. Presumably, Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ merged the

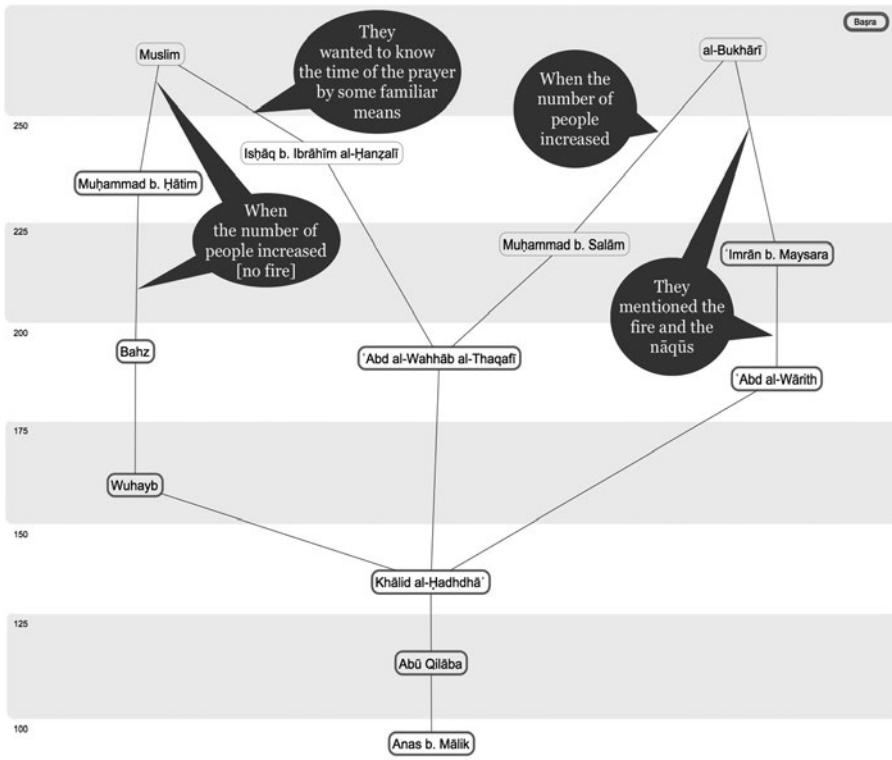

Figure 2.3 Chains of transmitters for C2

theological with the historical parts. Later narrators transmitted his hybrid version in their own way, probably orally if we consider the level of variations, rendering its gist more than its exact wording. One of the most striking variations is the mention of the fire.

Fire

I see three possible ways to explain the presence of fire in this second category:

1. Similar to *būq* and *qarn*, a lexical error occurred. A transmitter was unable to read the word *būq* and thought it was *nār*, or he misheard *nār* for *qarn*. The written proximity between *būq* and *nār* and the acoustic similarity between *qarn* and *nār* can explain the confusion, but they do not seem enough to build a strong case.
2. Some people suggested a visual call rather than an acoustic one. Medina was known for its numerous tower-houses, *āṭām*, sg. *uṭum*, which were apparently pulled down by ᶜUthmān ibn ᶜAffān (r. 23–35/644–55), after the introduction of the *adhān*.[16] *Al-nār* was often used as a signal.[17] We also have *manār* towers, which later became the famous *minarets*. A fire could have been lit in such towers to help worshippers locate the mosques. Thus, it was possible to think of the fire as a signal for the call to prayer. However, fire was convenient mainly at night; more importantly, how could a fire wake up people for the morning prayer? If the suggestion was indeed made, it must have been deemed impractical and rejected.
3. Finally, Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī argues that C2's narratives were incomplete. He gives therefore a fuller version of the story:

> فقالوا لو اتخذنا ناقوسًا فقال رسول الله . . . ذلك للنصارى. فقالوا: لو اتخذنا بوقًا، فقال رسول الله [...] ذلك لليهود، فقالوا لو رفعنا نارًا فقال ذلك للمجوس
>
> They said, 'If we use the *nāqūs* (?).' Then the Prophet said, 'This [belongs] to the Christians.' [Then] they said, 'And if we use the *būq*.' Then the Prophet said, 'This [belongs] to the Jews.' [Then] they said, 'And if we set a fire.' Then he said, 'This [belongs] to the Zoroastrians (*majūs*).'[18]

In Ibn Ḥajar's interpretation, C2's narratives are truncated. Nevertheless, contrary to the *nāqūs* and the *būq*, the fire had never been a convoker for anyone, Zoroastrians or others. Consequently, it could have been added to localise the narratives and address a population that had more contacts with or included Zoroastrians. This version, which Ibn Ḥajar favours, adds the prophetic authority to condemn unequivocally the use of non-Islamic rituals or traditions.

What Ibn Ḥajar does not take into consideration is the possibility that the version he supports is itself a late variant as well. We notice that his interpretation is a back-projection that does not seem to match the initial meaning of the narratives discussed so far. It also reflects a clear hostility towards non-Islamic rituals, which seems to be a personal or later interpretation. In C1, the Prophet intervenes only to support ᶜUmar, not to condemn the *nāqūs* or the *būq*. In C2, he does not appear at all. The first two categories give us an example of how hadith reports were used over time to address political and religious issues, how they were merged or truncated to fit the purpose, and how later scholars could still combine different versions and add the prophetic authority to serve their arguments. The third category continues to exemplify these points, although it contains much more elaborate and potentially later information.

Before turning to the third category, let us summarise our findings regarding C1 and C2. The two categories display a certain number of similarities. Their comparison allows us to start drawing the proto-narrative, which preceded the narratives of both categories and was then embellished: in the case of C1 to give a preponderant role to ᶜUmar; in the case of C2 to clarify and fix two religious rituals, the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 summarise the similarities and dissimilarities between C1 and C2 at (1) the structural level and (2) the lexical level, respectively. The similar structure of the narratives within the two categories reveals the proto-narrative that inspired them. Conversely, the lexical disparities in Table 2.3 stress the distance that separates the two categories in terms of geographical origin and purpose.

Category 3

The third category contains twenty versions of the dream story with more differences across their texts than in any narratives of the previous two categories.[19] This level of complexity is best illustrated by the chains of transmission. In Figure 2.4, tags have been added to the links between transmitters

Table 2.2 Structural comparison between C1 and C2

Similarities	Differences C1 vs C2
External factors lead Muslims to create the *adhān*	When the Muslims arrived at Medina vs when the number of people increased
Suggestion to use non-Islamic means to call to prayer, including the *nāqūs*	The use of the *būq*/*qarn* vs the use of *nār*
Bilāl's primary role as *muᵓadhdhin*	ᶜUmar, the Prophet and Bilāl vs Bilāl as only actor
Mention of the *adhān*	Mention of the *adhān* vs mention of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*
General structure of the narrative	Semi-developed narrative vs summary-like or incomplete version

Table 2.3 Lexical comparison between C1 and C2

C1	C2
كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ حِينَ قَدِمُوا الْمَدِينَةَ يَجْتَمِعُونَ فَيَتَحَيَّنُونَ الصَّلاَةَ، لَيْسَ يُنَادَى لَهَا/بها فَتَكَلَّمُوا يَوْمًا فِي ذَلِكَ	قَالَ لَمَّا كَثُرَ النَّاسُ
	فَذَكَرُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَىقَالَ ذَكَرُوا أَنْ يَعْلَمُوا وَقْتَ الصلوة بِشَيْءٍ يَعْرِفُونَهُ
	فَذَكَرُوا أَنْ يُورُوا نَارًا
فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ اتَّخِذُوا نَاقُوسًا مِثْلَ نَاقُوسِ النَّصَارَى	أَوْ يَضْرِبُوا نَاقُوسًا
وَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ بَلْ بُوقًا/قرنا مِثْلَ قَرْنِ الْيَهُودِ	
فَقَالَ عُمَرُ أَوَلاَ تَبْعَثُونَ رَجُلاً يُنَادِي بِالصَّلاَةِ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَا بِلاَلُ قُمْ فَنَادِ بِالصَّلاَةِ	فَأُمِرَ بِلاَلٌ أَنْ يَشْفَعَ الأَذَانَ وَيُوتِرَ الإِقَامَةَ

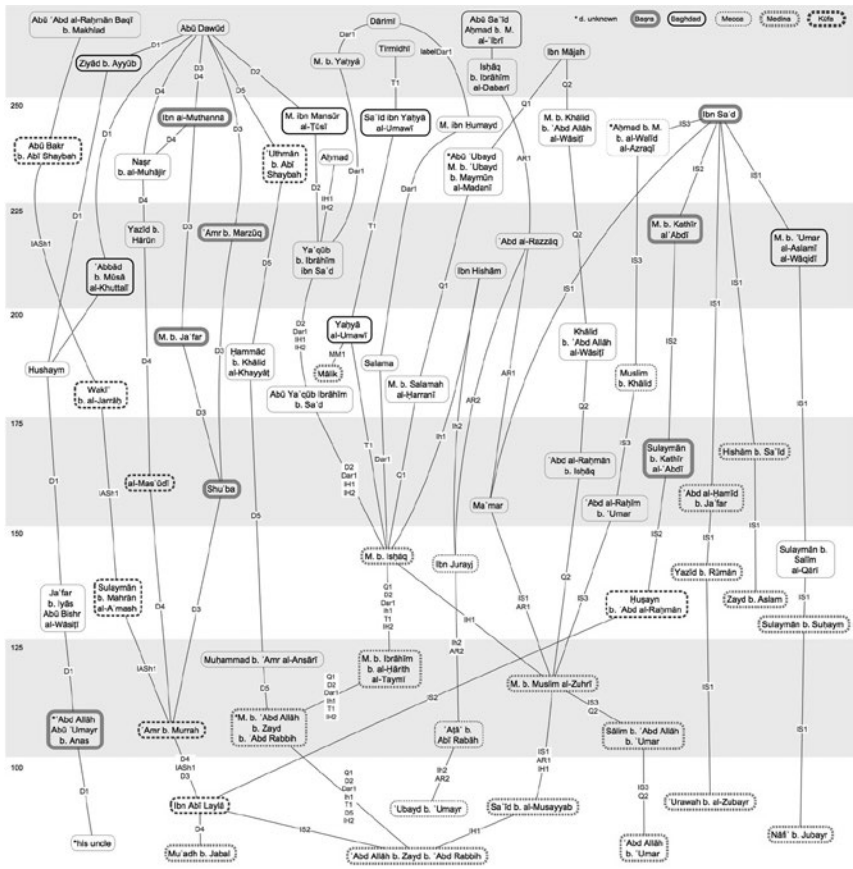

Figure 2.4 Chains of transmitters for C3

Table 2.4 General outline of C3's narratives

	Ih1	Ih2	AR1	AR2	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	T	Q1	Q2	MM	IH1	IH2	IASh	IS1	IS2	IS3	Dar
introduction	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
būq	x		x		[x]						x	x					x		x	x
nāqūs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	[x]	x	x		x	x	x	x
karihah	x				x							x		x						x
ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Zayd	x		x		x	x	[x]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
the dream	x	[x]	x	[x]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
– a man	x		x		x	x	x				x			x	x	x	x	x		x
– green garments	x						x				x			x		x	x	x		x
– *nāqūs*	x	[x]	x	[x]		x					x		x	x	x		x			x
– can I buy?	x		x			x					x			x	x		x			x
– something better	x		x			x					x			x	x		x			x
– *adhān*	x		x			x		x			x			x	x	x	x	[x]		x
– *iqāma*						x		x						x	x	x		[x]		x
Prophet's approval	x	x		x		x	x				x			x	x					x
ᶜUmar's dream	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x
Bilāl	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Abbreviations: Ih = Ibn Hishām; AR = ᶜAbd al-Razzāq; D = Abū Dāwūd; T = Tirmidhī; Q = Ibn Mājah; MM = Mālik; IH = Ibn Ḥanbal; IASh = Ibn Abī Shaybah; IS = Ibn Saᶜd; Dar = Dārimī.

to indicate which scholar transmitted to which recipients, thus solving the ambiguity otherwise present at common links. The diagram shows the quite even repartition of transmitters in different cities and throughout each epoch of twenty-five years. Only Medina holds a majority of transmitters over the first 150 years. The figure also highlights the spread of this version, which can be explained by the fact that it addresses directly the question of the right number of repetitions of the *adhān*, which became important when jurists started writing about the right practice of the *adhān*.

Outline of the Dream Story

The general outline of the narratives within C3 is identical to the one observed in C1 and C2, confirming the presence of the hypothetical proto-narrative at their basis. The main difference is the mention of a dream which distinguishes this category. Table 2.4 presents the detailed outline, which can be divided into three sections: (1) the introduction; (2) the dream; and (3) the conclusion. Each narrative is presented horizontally and the cells with an 'X' indicate the presence of the element in the corresponding narrative. The square brackets indicate a partial or truncated mention of the element in question. Finally, each text has been given an acronym with the initial letters of the collector's name and a number if he transmitted more than one narrative. The references are given in the table.

The Introduction

Three elements distinguish the introduction to the dream story from the introductions of C1 and C2's narratives: (a) the disagreement on the *nāqūs*; (b) the Prophet's disapproval; and (c) the uneven treatment of the trumpet.

The Disagreement on the nāqūs

Transmitters of C3's narratives disagreed regarding the suggestion of using a *nāqūs*. The words they employed indicate an absence of consensus about two main points:

1. Did the Prophet think of making a *nāqūs* or order it?
2. Was the *nāqūs* fabricated and eventually used or not?

Some stress the thinking process around the *nāqūs* or the wish to have a *nāqūs* which did not lead to any concrete actions. These narratives [AR1, AR2, D1, Ih2, IS1, IS2, IS3, Q2] contain the verbs *hamma* ('he thought'), *arāda* ('he wanted'), *iʾtamara* ('he deliberated'), *qāla* ('he said') or *dhakara* ('he mentioned'). Other narratives [D2, Dar, Ih1, IH1, IH2, IS1, Q1] state that the Prophet ordered a *nāqūs* with the verb *amara* ('he ordered' or 'commanded').

The last group of narratives [D3, Dar, Ih1, Q1] explains that the *nāqūs* was fabricated and chiselled ready to be used or indeed struck with the verbs *naḥata* (in the passive form: *nuḥita*, 'it was chiselled') or *naqasa* ('he struck the *nāqūs*').

This disparity between the narratives concerning only the *nāqūs* suggests that people disagreed about what really happened with the Christian instrument. It is possible that they did not remember properly and hence only partial memories were recalled and put together. Nevertheless, if the *nāqūs* was truly used at the time of the Prophet as a trial call to prayer, it is likely that some transmitters would try to hide this fact or would simply not believe it when it was narrated to them because imitating the Christians was already considered non-Islamic and the *nāqūs* became forbidden by prominent scholars.[20] After having conquered vast territories previously under Christian rule, Muslims had to develop a legal apparatus to regulate the life of Christians within Muslim territories. By doing so, they were forced to introduce rules that did not exist at the time of the Prophet and could even contradict his example. If some narratives were attesting the accepted presence of the *nāqūs* at the time of the Prophet, they were in contradiction with the evolving policies of the Muslim authorities. To reconcile past and present, certain narrators seem to have added clarifying elements to guarantee an interpretation of their narratives conformed to the rulings of their time. Another example of such 'clarifying elements' is the disapproval of the Prophet that appears in five narratives.

Karihah*: The Prophet's Disapproval*

The verb *kariha* is added to indicate that the Prophet disapproved of the use of the trumpet and/or the *nāqūs* [D1, Dar, Ih1, IH1, Q2]. Since it appears that the *nāqūs* was strongly associated with the introduction of the *adhān* in the collective memory, transmitters found ways to prevent their audience from interpreting the *adhān* narrative as a sign of the Prophet's endorsement of the Christian ritual. In fact, without the *karihah* clause, one senses an open attitude from the Prophet and his Companions towards non-Muslims' instruments. They give the impression of seriously considering using them. They might have manufactured and even used them. With the conquest of Christian territories throughout the seventh century and the increasing need for distinctions between Muslims and Christians, this permeability between the two faiths diminished. Some imitation of Christian practices even became forbidden. In this context, it was probably easier to adapt the narratives to the new social environment with the *karihah* clause, than to imply that Muḥammad let Muslims use a Christian instrument without condemning it. Some transmitters found other solutions as well: they replaced the *nāqūs* by a 'thing' [D5], or 'two pieces of wood' [MM], or they omitted it [D4, T].

This does not mean that these transmitters thought they were correcting the narrative. They might as well have considered that it needed to be

clarified, mainly that the instruments were not adopted, and clarifications were needed to avoid confusion. What appears now as an addition could have been perceived by some as a clarification, a paraphrase. We observe here again the preference given to meaning over literal transmission.

The Trumpet

The Jewish trumpet is mentioned in seven narratives only. Most of the time, the word *būq* is used, which as we saw in C1 indicates a late redaction probably towards the third/ninth century. In one narrative [D1], we find '*qunᶜ* in the sense of *shabbūr*' (*al-qunᶜ yaᶜnī al-shabbūr*). The same narrative also explains that a banner was suggested along with the other instruments. These lexical peculiarities come with an Iraqi *isnād*, which differs considerably from all other chains of transmission and does not share any common links with them. The elaborated text of the narrative implies again a late redaction and potential additions that did not belong to the proto-narrative. Yet it would be difficult to distinguish between the original elements and the later additions, which renders the reconstruction of the proto-narrative problematic. Nevertheless, the comparison of all the narratives in the present corpus has proven efficient in highlighting interests that may have influenced the making of the narratives. The *karihah* clause and the lexical discrepancies around the suggested instruments to call to prayer reflect such interests. Another – main – interest is also expressed in the dreams, the comparative analysis of which unveils the purpose of C3's narratives.

The Dream

The impression of disparity between the narratives that comes out of the analysis of the introduction only becomes more obvious with the investigation of the dream. The transmitters seem to disagree with each other in their narratives, and the divergences are greater than in the introduction, to the extent that few versions display enough similarities to be associated with each other. The present section briefly summarises this central part, giving the main elements of the comparative analysis. The study focuses first on the structure and then on the content.

Despite their differences, the various dreams have an identical structure. By comparing the narratives, a strong correlation between the chains of transmission and the content occurs. When the contents are almost identical, the chains of transmission are also similar, like in IH1–Dar and IH2–D2. Conversely, when the contents present only vague similarities, the chains of transmission also vary considerably, like in Ih1, Q1 and IS1. This latter type of narratives – slightly similar context with slightly similar chains of transmission – exemplifies the stress laid upon the meaning to the detriment of the form and the wording, which easily leads to variations in the content, even with similar chains of transmission, as we saw in C1. Finally,

two methods of transmission emerge: the summarising method, applied by al-Dārimī to concentrate the narrative on a central topic, even though this requires the removal of some elements; and the merging method, applied by Ibn Saʿd (IS1) to condense similar narratives into one single text, although this again required the removal of some elements.

While the structural comparison stressed the similarities between all the narratives, the analysis of isolated elements has highlighted rather the disparities between the versions and their regional or personal particularities. We see again in the presentation of the dream how priority is given to the meaning over the form and the wording generates differences. The main example is probably the addition or omission of a green garment worn by the stranger who taught the call to prayer. Its presence shows the will to shape the dream according to common dream patterns, but since it is not important to the core message of the narrative it is omitted by several transmitters.[21]

The treatment of the formulae of the *adhān* is also diverse. Some narrators [AR1, D2, D4, Dar, IH1, IH2, Q1] give the formulae in full, for it seems that their main concern is to promote the righteous practice of the *adhān* according to their belief. Table 2.5 summarises the number of repetitions of each formula presented by some of the narratives.

The existence of these different practices attests to the slow development of the *adhān*. The practice was probably neither uniform at the time of the Prophet nor was it established as an official ritual. It developed from a practical call to a ritual with a fixed set of chanted formulae. But the repetitions of these formulae varied from place to place and the Shiʿah distinguished themselves by using a longer version.

The Dreamers

The main dreamer is ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd (d. 32/652–3), a Companion, who is mainly remembered through his dream on the *adhān*.[22] He belonged to the Anṣār and came from the Banū al-Ḥārith from Najrān. The *adhān* was undoubtedly not introduced as such in one night, for this contradicts all the evidence we have from the hadith reports themselves. This does not mean that ʿAbd Allāh did not play a role in the introduction of the *adhān*. As Savant notes, 'Muslims could not write history however they pleased. The past was not infinitely flexible, but it could be reworked within certain boundaries.'[23] Shiʿi narratives also confirm in a way that ʿAbd Allāh did play a role: according to them, he was unworthy to receive such a revelation, which came to the Prophet instead through an angel.[24] These narratives challenge contemporaneous memories regarding ʿAbd Allāh, suggesting thus that these memories existed. ʿAbd Allāh was undoubtedly remembered by many Muslims as the one who suggested the use of the voice to call to prayer.

How ʿAbd Allāh took part in the introduction of the *adhān* is impossible to say. Nevertheless, it is clear that the dream is a tool to give authority to the positions that it advocates. It follows a visible pattern of Islamic dream, with

Table 2.5 The formulae of the *adhān* and the *iqāmah* and their repetitions in the narratives of C3

أذان	Ih1	Ih2	AR1	AR2	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	T	Q1	Q2	MM	IH1	IH2	IASh	IS1	IS2	IS3	Dar
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر	4		2			4		2			4			4	4	(2)	1			4
أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱلله	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
رَسُولُ ٱللهادمحمأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلصَّلَاة	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلْفَلَاح	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	1			2
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر	2		2			2		2			2			2	2	(2)	2			2
لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱلله	1		1			1		1			1			1	1	(2)	1			1
إقامة	Ih1	Ih2	AR1	AR2	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	T	Q1	Q2	MM	IH1	IH2	IASh	IS1	IS2	IS3	Dar
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر						2		(2)						2	2	(2)				(1)
أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱلله						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
رَسُولُ ٱللهادمحمأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلصَّلَاة						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
حَيَّ عَلَى ٱلْفَلَاح						1		(2)						1	1	(2)				(1)
قد قامت الصلاة						2	1	2						2	2	(2)				2
ٱللهُ أَكْبَر						2		(2)						2	2	(2)				2
لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا ٱلله						1		(1)						1	1	(2)				1

a stranger, dressed in green, teaching formulae to a pious person. The majority of narratives also affirm that ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had a similar dream, bringing forth again the second caliph [Ih1-2, AR1-2, D1-3, Q1, IH1-2, Dar]. In this case, the dream legitimates not only the *adhān* practices but also the role of ʿUmar.

Regional and temporal interests also emerge. In Mecca and, in the generation after Ibn Jurayj, in Baghdad too, ʿUmar's role was the main concern. In most other cities, notably Basra, Wasit and Kufa, the focus seems to have been on the ritual's shape, a conclusion confirmed by the analysis of C2. Medina, which was probably the birth place of the proto-narrative, is represented by the main harmonising narrators who tried to reconcile all the versions, namely, al-Zuhrī and Ibn Isḥāq.

The End of the Third Category of Narratives

Various elements are again introduced in the conclusions of the narratives. Often, the dream is said to have received the approval of the Prophet, which might be a direct response to Shiʿi criticism. Answers to the audience of the narratives appear as well. The *anṣār* may have wondered why ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zayd was not given the honour of calling the *adhān* since he is the one who had the dream. To this, some replied that ʿAbd Allāh did not have a strong enough voice, and others explained that he was sick. The Prophet is also said to have asked sometimes the reason why ʿUmar did not narrate his dream before ʿAbd Allāh. ʿUmar usually justified himself by arguing that ʿAbd Allāh was quicker than he was and he felt ashamed. These examples show how hadith reports were shaped by the audience, and the religious and political contexts as much as the transmitters.

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of the contents and the chains of transmission of this corpus of narratives has provided three kinds of information. With knowledge of the general context, it highlights first the interests at stake at certain times and places within religious, political and theological debates. Once the possible additions, omissions and modifications have been identified, it is then possible to point out the elements that triggered them or served as a basis for them. Finally, by observing these changes, it becomes easier for us to draw parallels between similar methods used by narrators to reach particular aims.

At the level of transmission, for instance, we have observed the priority given to the meaning over literality. Some transmitters seem to have been little concerned about a verbatim transmission, as long as their interpretation of the general meaning was preserved. This prioritising is applied by transmitters who produce a summary-like version. Ibn Abī Shaybah and Mālik in particular display a unique recension of the dream story that resembles a

summary compared with the others. In both cases, the summary effect can be the sign of an old recension, the details of which would have been lost over the numerous generations of transmitters. It may also be a summary by one transmitter or collector who decided to give the general meaning without entering into the details of the story. This may be the strategy of a jurist, who wants to use the story as a basis for a ruling, contrary to a story-teller who might be more interested in entertaining his audience than lecturing them on the legal implication of the narrative. Indeed, Mālik and Ibn Abī Shaybah are both jurists, and they are more concerned about law-making than history.

A great variety of changes were applied on the *adhān* narratives, and yet the same structure common to the texts we have still appears behind all these changes and was brought to light by the comparative analysis carried out on this corpus. This structure, which I call the proto-narrative, reflects collective memories and was used by different narrators, transmitters, legal scholars or historians to serve their various interests. Modern technologies, in particular, the digitalisation of large numbers of sources, will allow us increasingly to analyse comprehensive corpora of similar narratives in order to extract more information on hadith genesis and Islamic history. The more pixels we have, the clearer the whole picture will appear.

Notes

* I would like to thank Christopher Melchert, David Taylor, Belal Abu-Alabbas, Azaher Miah, Álvaro Tejero Cantero, and Geri Della Rocca de Candal for their valuable comments.

1. Similar narratives belonging to this first category are also found in al-Nasāʾī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrá*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bundārī et al., 7 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1991), *al-adhān* 1, *badʾ al-nidāʾ bi-al-ṣalāh*, Nos 1590–1; Ibn Khuzaymah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Aʿẓamī, 4 vols (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970), *al-ṣalāh*, *jimāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-al-iqāmah*, *bāb badʾ al-adhān wa-al-iqāmah*, p. 219; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 7 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1994), 1:573–4, *al-ṣalāh*, *dhikr jimāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-al-iqāmah*, *bāb badʾ al-adhān*, No. 1831.
2. ʿAbd Al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, 10 vols (Beirut: al-Majlis al-ʿIlmī, 1970), 1:356–7; al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, in Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb et al., 13 vols (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafá Muḥammad, 1979), 2:77, *al-adhān* 1, *bāb badʾ al-adhān wa-al-iqāmah*, No. 604; Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 5 vols (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabīyah, 1955), 1:385, *al-ṣalāh* 1, *bāb badʿ al-adhān*, No. 377; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 6 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996), 1:233, *al-ṣalāh* 25, *bāb mā jāʾ fi badʾ al-adhān*, No. 190; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ et al., 50 vols (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1993), 10:425. The translation into English is mine.
3. Behnam Sadeghi, 'The Travelling Tradition Test: a Method for Dating Traditions', *Der Islam* 85 (2010): 210; Najam Iftikhar Haider, 'The Geography of the *Isnād*:

Possibilities for the Reconstruction of Local Ritual Practice in the 2nd/8th Century', *Der Islam* 90 (2013): 318.

4. On the Islamic trumpet and the Jewish *qeren*, see Avinoam Shalem, *The Oliphant: Islamic Objects in Historical Context*, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 54; John Arthur Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: Routledge, 2016), 112, 158, 158 n. 47; and especially the study of the root 'QRN' by Margit Süring, *The Horn-motifs in the Hebrew Bible and Related Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Iconography* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1980), 38–116.
5. On the evolution of the word *būq*, see *EI*[2], s.v. 'Būḳ', by H. G. Farmer.
6. Qurʾān, 5:58, 62:9. See Carl Heinrich Becker, 'Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus', *Der Islam* 3 (1912): 387.
7. This might reflect a very early stage of Donner's 'Qurʾānicization': see Fred M. Donner, 'Qurʾānicization of Religio-Political Discourse in the Umayyad Period', *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 129 (2011): 79–92.
8. By 'sacred sounds' I mean sounds that are part of religious rituals. The concept is used rather loosely in socio-anthropological studies and I have not found yet a thorough examination of the development of sound from secular or profane to sacred. It goes without saying that sounds are often more difficult to study than material culture from the perspective of historical development.
9. For the role of the Umayyads in promoting ʿUmar's *sunnah*, see Avraham Hakim, 'ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb: l'autorité religieuse et morale', *Arabica* 55 (2008): 21–3.
10. See how ʿUthmān added a third call to prayer when the number of people increased in ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, *Kitāb tārīkh al-madīnah al-munawwarah: akhbār al-madīnah al-nabawīyah*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Dandal et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1996), 958; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:393, *al-jumuʿah* 21, *bāb al-adhān yawm al-jumuʿah*, No. 912; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunān*, *al-ṣalāh* 217, *bāb al-nidāʾ yawm al-jumuʿah*, No. 1087; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ* 1: 521–2, *al-jumuʿah* 255, *bāb mā jāʾ fi adhān al-jumuʿah*, No. 516; Ibn Mājah, *Sunān*, *iqāmat al-ṣalāh wa-al-sunnah fīhā* 97, *bāb mā jāʾa fī al-adhān yawm al-jumuʿah*, No. 1135.
11. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 160. Also see the discussion of 'memories of memories' in Gregor Schoeler, *The Biography of Muḥammad: Nature and Authenticity* (London: Routledge, 2011).
12. A similar narrative is also present in al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrá* 1:574, *al-ṣalāh*, *dhikr jimāʿ abwāb al-adhān wa-al-iqāmah*, *bāb badʾ al-adhān*, No. 1832. Al-Bayhaqī quotes the version transmitted by Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm and mentions the version of al-Bukhārī without noting its differences.
13. Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* 2:77, 82, *al-adhān* 1, *bāb badʾ al-adhān*, No. 603, and *al-adhān* 2, *bāb al-adhān mathná mathná*, No. 606; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *al-ṣalāh* 2, *bāb al-amr bi-shafʿ al-adhān*, No. 378. The English translation is mine.
14. According to Juynboll, such narratives as do not involve the Prophet (*mawqūf*) 'have a greater claim to being considered historically tenable': G. H. A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 59.
15. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 58.

16. Jonathan Bloom, *The Minaret* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 46. Bloom also describes the construction of lighthouse towers between Kufa and Mecca: 'the early Abbasids also erected beacons and markers. As early as 752, the first Abbasid caliph Abu-al-ᶜAbbās had erected beacon towers (*manār*) and milestones (*mīl*) along the pilgrimage route from Kūfa to Mecca' (Bloom, *Minaret*, 56).
17. Some examples of 'fire signals' may be seen in Bloom, *Minaret*, 24.
18. Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, ed. Muḥammad Fuᵓād ᶜAbd al-Bāqī, 13 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Maᶜrifah, 1959), 2:80, *al-adhān* 10, *bāb badᵓ al-adhān*, No. 604. The English translation is mine.
19. ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 1:356; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiᶜ al-kabīr* 1:231–2, *al-ṣalāh* 25, *bāb mā jāᵓ fi badᵓ al-adhān*, No. 189; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fuᵓād ᶜAbd al-Bāqī, 5 vols (Cairo: ᶜĪsá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1952), 1:232–3, *al-adhān wa-al-sunnah fihā* 1, *bāb badᵓ al-adhān*, Nos 706–7; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *al-ṣalāh* 27, *bāb badᵓ al-adhān*, Nos 498, 499, 506, 507, 512; Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaᵓ*, rec. Yaḥyá ibn Yaḥyá, *al-ṣalāh* 41, *mā jāᵓa fi al-nidāᵓ lil-ṣalāh*, No. 1; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* 26:399–403; Muḥammad ibn Saᶜd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ᶜAlī Muḥammad ᶜUmar, 11 vols (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001), 1:212–13; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥamad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-Jumᶜah and Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Luḥaydān, 16 vols (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2004), 2:5; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, ed. ᶜUmar ᶜAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, 4 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1990), 2:149–51; ᶜAbd Allah ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *al-Musnad*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad al-Dārānī, 4 vols (Riyadh: Dār al-Mughnī, 2000), 2:758–60. These hadith reports are also found in Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, arr. Ibn Balabān, ed. Shuᶜayb al-Arnāᵓūṭ and Ḥusayn Asad, 18 vols (Beirut: Muᵓassasat al-Risālah, 1984–91), 4:541–3; and in the *Sunan* of al-Bayhaqī, 1:574–5.
20. For more on the question, see Salam Rassi, 'Justifying Islam in the Islamic Middle Ages: the Apologetic Theology of Abdisho bar Brikha (d. 1318)', DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2016, 213–15. I also dedicate the final chapter of my doctoral thesis to the opinions of three Muslim jurists regarding the *nāqūs*.
21. See Pierre Lory, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2015); Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Dreams and Visions in the World of Islam: a History of Muslim Dreaming and Foreknowing* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015); John Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002); and, in particular, Leah Kinberg, 'Qurᵓān and Ḥadīth: a Struggle for Supremacy as Reflected in Dream Narratives', in Louise Marlow (ed.), *Dreaming Across Boundaries: the Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands* (Boston, MA: Ilex Foundation and Harvard University Press, 2008), 41; Leah Kinberg, 'Literal Dreams and Prophetic Hadith in Classical Islam: a Comparison of Two Ways of Legitimation', *Der Islam* 70 (1993): 282. Kinberg treats the legitimisation function of dreams in an earlier article, 'The Legitimization of the *Madhāhib* through Dreams', *Arabica* 32 (1985): 47–79, in which she shows 'the similarity between the dream and the hadith as literary means of expression. They both reflect ideas and tendencies prevalent in Islam, and both are used as means of legitimization' (78).

22. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 35 vols (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1982–92), 14:540; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* 3:497; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Dhakhāʾir al-ʿarab 30, 10 vols (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1960–9), 3:121.
23. Sarah Bowen Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory and Conversion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 168.
24. See al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim Raḥmatī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī, 2007), 59–60; and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, ed. Husayn al-ʿAlamī, 4 vols (Beirut: Dār Ṣaʿb, 1981–6), 1:197–8. I would like to thank Kumail Rajani for these references.

On the Genesis and Development of the Twelver-Shī'ī Three-tenet Shahādah

Von Joseph Eliash (Los Angeles)

Twelver-shī'ism like Sunnism developed a short phrase proclaiming the faith in the form of the personal Witness, *al-shahādah*. But, while the *Sunn-shahādah* comprises two tenets only, belief in the unity of God and in the commissī sion of Muḥammad as His messenger,[1]) Twelver-shī'ism adds a third tenet, belief in the designation of 'Alī as the *walī* of God. Thus, the Twelver-*shī'ī* form of the *shahādah* reads as follows:

> I bear witness that there is no God but the One God; and I bear witness that Muḥammad is the messenger of God; and I bear witness that 'Alī is the *walī* of God.[2])

The term *walī* is not used merely as by the *Sunnīs*, in the sense of 'the friend of God' who intercedes for the believer,[3]) but there is implicit in the term the conception of an heir to Muḥammad, whose nomination is incumbent upon God and upon God's messenger, whose function is to carry on Muḥammad's mission of guiding the believers in spiritual and worldly affairs and who is without defect, infallible and equal in status to Muḥammad, except in the question of his office as prophet-messenger (*nabī-rasūl*). This belief in the *wilāyah* of 'Alī and its association with belief in God and Muḥammad are endorsed by the interpretation of the Twelver-*shī'ī* jurists of several Qur'ānic verses among which is the verse "Verily, your protector is God and his Apostle, and those who believe, who observe prayer and pay the alms of obligation and who bow in worship"[4].) They read the phrase "*wa-hum rāki'ūn*" as *ḥāl* clause meaning "while they were bowing in worship" and interpret it as referring to 'Alī on the basis of the story that a beggar begged in the *masjid* of Medina while Muḥammad, 'Alī and other people were praying there. No one responded to the beggar except 'Alī, who, while he was bowing in worship (*rāki'an*) gave

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[1]) A. J. Wensinck, *The* Muslim Creed, 15—22, 270—5, Cambridge 1932.

[2]) Contemporary Twelver-*shī'ī adhān*. Cf. *Namāz, Farmān-i-Khudā*, 17, ed. 'Alī Muṣṭafavī, Tehran 1343 A. H. S.; *Ajwibatu 'l-Masā'il al-Dīniyyah*, vol. II, No. 10, p. 257, 1384/1964, Monthly organ of the Committee for Religious Education in Holy Karbalā', ed. "Āyatu'llāh Sayyid 'Abd al-Riḍā Al-Shahrastānī," Karbalā'; J. H. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, 49, London 1955. The article "*adhān*" written by Juynboll in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Second edition I, 187—8) deals with the *Shī'ī adhān* incompletely and rather misleadingly.

[3]) For a discussion of the *ṣufī* interpretation of the *walī*, see Kāmil Muṣṭafa al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣilatu bayna'l-Taṣawwuf wa' l-Tashayyu'*, II, 15—26, Baghdad 1383/1964; Qushayrī, *Risālah*, 137, 218, Cairo 1284/1867, and Jurjānī, *Ta'rifāt*, 227, Cairo 1357/1938.

[4]) V:60 (Rodwell's translation).

the beggar his ring. Ṭabarsī, the Twelver-*shī'ī* commentator of the *Qur'ān* overcomes the grammatical difficulty arising from the relative pronoun (*alladhīna*) being in plural by explaining that the plural is used in Arabic instead of the singular when referring to someone with respect (*li'l-taʃkhīm*). He adds on the authority of Abū Dharr that at the moment when 'Alī gave the ring to the beggar, Muḥammad prayed God to help him (Muḥammad) lighten his burden as He helped Moses and "strengthened his arm" by appointing Aaron to his help[5]) and that then the angel Gabriel came to Muḥammad and revealed to him this verse.[6])

While the contemporary Twelver-*shī'ah* regard the three-tenet *shahādah* as the embodiment of their creed which *mu'adhdhins* proclaim all over the Twelver-*shī'ī* world thereby declaring their difference,[7]) the available early Twelver-*shī'ī* literature of the third, fourth and fifth centuries A. H. does not show conclusively when the three-tenet *shahādah* originated. It is an astonishing fact that there is no reference to the three-tenet *shahādah* in the early four canonical books of Twelver-*shī'ī fiqh*, with the one exception in *Man lā Yaḥḍaruḥu al-Faqīh* which condemns its use in the strongest terms.[8]) This cannot be attributed to dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) for the early Twelver-*shī'ī* jurists clearly enumerate such dissimilarities in the different parts of the *adhān* and in the daily *ṣalāts* as occur between them and the *Sunnīs*. Without exception the four canonical books give a wording of the *shahādah* similar to that of the *Sunnīs* in both the *adhān* and in the main portions of the *ṣalāt*. Thus the *adhān* reads as follows:

God is Most Great (four times);
I bear witness that there is no God except the One God (twice);
I bear witness that Muḥammad is the messenger of God (twice);
Come ye to the prayer
Come ye to the best of deeds (*ḥayya 'ala khayri'l-'amal*)[9])
God is Most Great (twice);
There is no God but the One God.[10])

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[5]) XXVIII:4, 5.

[6]) See the authoritative Twelver-*shī'ī* exegesis of the *Qur'ān* by al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153), *Majma' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, III, 209—212, Tehran 1379/1339 A. H. S. See also Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1326), *Minhāj al-Karāmah fī Ma'rifat al-Imāmah*, 52—53, lithog. Tehran 1296; Āyatu'llāh Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Muẓaffar, *Dalā'il al-Ṣidq*, II, 44, Najaf 1372/1953; Āyatu'llāh 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-Amīnī al-Najafī, *al-Ghadīr fī al-Kitāb wa'l-Sunnah wa'l-Adab*, II, 52—53, Tehran 1372/1952. It is interesting to note that Bayḍāwī commenting on the phrase "*wa-hum rāki'ūn*" gives also a reading and an interpretation similar to those of the Twelver-*Shī'ah*, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Ta'wīl*, I, 154, Lipsiae, 1846.

[7]) Supra, note 2.

[8]) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsa b. Bābūyah al-Qummī al-Ṣaddūq (d. 381/991—2), *Man lā ...*, 59, lithog. Tabriz 1334/1915.

[9]) Cf. the *Sunnī* text: "Prayer is better than sleep."

[10]) Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulīnī (d. 329/941), *Furū' al-Kāfī*, 83—85, 135—138, lithog. Persia, 1302/1884, Ṣaddūq, idem, 57; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), *Kitāb al-Iṣtibṣār*, I, 150—151, lithog. Lucknow 1316/1898.

Ṣaddūq adds the following comment: "This is the true *adhān*. There is nothing to be added and there is nothing to be taken away. The *mufawwiḍah*,[11]) may God curse them, have forged traditions and have added additions to the *adhān*. [Thus some of them add] Muḥammad and the House of Muḥammad are the best of creation, twice. And in some of their quotations [traditions], after, I bear witness that Muḥammad is the messenger of God, I bear witness that 'Alī is the *walī* of God, twice. Some of them state, instead of that, I bear witness that 'Alī is truly the commander of the Faithful, twice. There is no doubt that 'Alī is the *walī* of God, that he is truly the Commander of the Faithful and that Muḥammad and his House are the best of creation, but [all] this is not in the original *adhān*. I have mentioned this so that those who are suspected of *tafwīḍ* and who with deception include themselves in our community may be made known."

"Hādha huwa 'al-'adhānu'l-ṣaḥīḥ lā yuzādu fīhi wa-lā yunqaṣu minhu wa'l-mufawwiḍatu la'anahumu'llāhu qad waḍa'ū akhbāran wa-zādū fī'l-'adhāni muḥammadun wa-'ālu muḥammadin khayru'l-birriyati marratayni wa-fī ba'ḍi riwāyātihim ba'da 'an 'ashhadu 'anna muḥammadan rasūlu' llāhi 'ashhadu 'anna 'aliyyan waliyyu'llāhi marratayni wa-minhum man rawa badala dhālika 'ashhadu 'anna 'aliyyan 'amīru'l-mu'minīna ḥaqqan marratayni walā shakka fī 'anna 'aliyyan waliyyu'llāhi wa-'annahu 'amīru'l-mu' minīna ḥaqqan wa-'anna muḥammadan wa-'ālahu khayru' l-birriyati wa-lākin dhālika laysa fī 'aṣli'l-adhāni wa-'innamā dhakartu dhālika liyu'arrafa bihādhihi' l-ziyādāti 'al-muttahamūna bi'l-tafwīḍi 'al-mudallisūna 'anfusahum fī jumlatinā."[12])

An examination of the available historical sources and the juristic literature of the Twelver-*shī'ah* may lead to concede that the advent of the *Safawīs*, their immediate military aims and political circumstances evolved the introduction and finally adoption of the three-tenet *shahādah* among the Twelver-*shī'ah* in contradistinction to the juristic precepts as enunciated by the early Twelver-*shī'ī* doctors in the four canonical books of the *Ja'fari fiqh*. According to *Aḥsanu'l-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū, Shāh Ismā'īl ordered in the year 907/1501—2, all preachers in his realm to introduce the formula of the *wilāyah* of 'Alī into the *Shahādah*[13]) but evidence of a juristic ruling contradicting that

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[11]) "Those who believe in delegation." A sect of the *Ghulāt* who believed that after God had created Muḥammad and 'Alī, He ceased to function and that thereafter, it was they who created, sustained and destroyed.

[12]) *Man lā ...*, 59.

[13]) *A Chronicale of the Early Ṣafawīs, being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū*, edited and translated by C. N. SEDDON, I (Persian text), 61. Baroda 1931. In the English translation SEDDON contracts the following paragraph in the Persian text: *"Ham dar 'avā'il-i-julūs 'amr kard ki khuṭabāy-i-mamālik khuṭbah-i-'a'immah-'i-ithnā 'ashar 'alayhim ṣalavāti'llāh 'al-malik 'l-'akbar khwānand 'ashhadu 'anna 'aliyyan valiyyu'llāh wa-ḥayya 'ala khayri'l-'amal"*, into "Moreover, in the beginning of his reign, he commanded that the names of the Twelve Imams should be read in the Khutba," idem, II (English Translation), 26. Baroda 1934. I am indebted to Dr. Barbara Fleming of the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients, Hamburg and to Dr. Hanna Sohrweide also of Hamburg for making available to me the original text.

expressed by Ṣaddūq is indeed pronounced by the great divine of the *Ṣafawī* period, Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1699). Majlisī plainly rules that the insertion of the confession of the *wilāyah* in the *adhān* is preferred (*mustaḥabb*) and "if one does it, it is not a sin," (*'in fa'alahu al-'insānu lam ya'tham bihi*).[14]) Commenting on the prayer of *Ta'qīb* (i.e. the prayer which may be said after any prayer) he adds: "It is preferrable (*mustaḥabb*) to say immediately after any prayer there is no God but the One God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God, 'Alī is the *walī* of God."[15]) An interesting version of a *ṣalāt* which is to be uttered daily is quoted by him on the authority of the Eighth Imam, al-Riḍā. It opens with the following words: "I have turned my face towards Him who created the heavens and the earth, believing in the creed of Ibrāhīm and the religion of Muḥammad and the *wilāyah* of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib ... *wajjahtu wajhī lilladhī faṭara 'al-samawāti wa-'l-'arḍa ḥanīfan 'ala millati 'ibrahīma wa-dīni muḥammadin wa-wilāyati 'amīri'l-mu'minīna 'aliyyi-bni 'abī ṭālib*,"[16]) and " ... I bear witness how excellent a God Thou art and how excellent a messenger is Muḥammad and how excellent a *walī* is 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, ... *'ashhadu 'annaka na'im'al-rabb wa-'anna muḥammadan na'ima'l-rasūl wa-'anna 'aliyya 'bna'abī ṭālib na'ima'l-waliyy*."[17])

Nevertheless, a thorough investigation of the collections of Twelver-*shī'ī Ḥadīth* produces a rather different conclusion. Traditions which must be considered as forerunners of the formulation of the three-tenet *shahādah* are contained in all of the four canonical books including that compiled by Ṣaddūq. In the *al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*,[18]) the earliest of the four books, the largest, the most detailed and the most revered by the Twelver-*shī'ah* which was compiled by Kulīnī a few decades after the "disappearance" of the Twelfth Imām (260/

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[14]) *Biḥār al-Anwār*, XVIII, 162, Lithog. Persia 1301—1305/1883—1887, 25 vols.

[15]) *ibid*, 430.

[16]) *ibid*, 187. Cf. *Qur'ān*, VI: 79 and 162 which read respectively as follows: "I verily turn my face to Him who hath created the Heavens and the Earth, following the right religion (*ḥanīfan*); and I am not one of those who add gods to God" and "As for me, my Lord hath guided me into a straight path; a true religion, the creed of Abraham, the sound in faith (*ḥanīfan*); for he was not one of those who join gods with God," (Rodwell's).

[17]) *ibid*, 188.

[18]) It comprises three parts; the *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, the *Furū'al-Kāfī*, and *al-Rawḍah mina' l-Kāfī* which together represent the crystallization of Twelver-*shī'ī* religious thought as it had been developed and sifted during the first two centuries after the death of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (40/661). Kulīnī usually cites several versions of each tradition with different chains of *Isnād* and precedes the one he judges to be the most authentic to the "weaker" ones. Kulīnī lived during the "Smaller Occultation" of the Twelfth Imām and was in touch with the last *sufarā'* or *wukalā'*, agents of the Imām. There are several lithographed and printed editions of *al-Kāfī* which were published in Persia and India, the best being the latest, printed in Tehran 1375—1379/1955—1959. For biographical remarks see praface to the latest edition of *al-Kāfī*, also H. Laoust, *Les Schismes dans l'Islam*, 149—50, Paris, 1965 and H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, 54, Paris, 1964.

873) these are numerous. Of those by which Kulīnī established the belief in the *wilāyah* not only as one of "The Pillars of the Faith" but also as ranking first amongst them, the following may be cited:

i. On the authority of the Fifth Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir: "Islam was built on five pillars; *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, fasting, pilgrimage and *wilāyah*. Nothing was proclaimed (i.e. emphasized) in the way which *wilāyah* was proclaimed (*wa-lam yunāda bishay'in kamā nuwdiya bi'l-wilāyah*). But the people adopted the [first] four and left this, i.e. *wilāyah*."[19]) To the question "Which of them is supreme," the Imām al-Bāqir gave the answer: "*Wilāyah* is supreme, because it is the key to them and the *walī* is he who points to them (*"al-wilāyatu 'afḍalu li-'annahā miftaḥuhunna wa'l-walī huwa al-dalīlu 'alayhunna*). Then, he places the "pillars" in the following sequence after the *wilāyah*: ṣalāt, zakāt, pilgrimage and fasting."[20])

ii. The Sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq "was asked about those pillars of Islām, about which one cannot afford not to know something and which failure to know something about, would result in one's religion being corrupted and in God not accepting from one one's deed. He said, 'the witness that there is no God but the One God, the belief that Muḥammad is the messenger of God, the acknowledgment of the truth of what Muḥammad brought from God, [payment of] the due on property which is the *zakāt*, and the *wilāyah* which God, to Him belong glory and power, commanded, namely the *wilāyah* of the House of Muḥammad." (*da'ā'imu'l-Islāmi 'allatī lā yasa'u 'aḥadun 'al-taqṣīra 'an ma'rifati shay'in minhā 'alladhī man qaṣṣara 'an ma'rifati shay'in minhā fasada 'alayhi dīnuhu walam yaqbal* ['*allāhu*] *minhu 'amalahu faqāla shahādatu 'an la' ilāha 'illā'llāh wa-'l- 'iymanu bi'anna muḥammadan rasūlu 'llāh wa-'l-'iqrāru bimā jā'a bihi min 'indi'llāh wa-ḥaqqun fī'l-'amwāli huwa 'al-zakāt wa-'l-wilāyatu 'allatī amara 'allāhu 'azza wa-jalla bihā: wilāyatu 'āli muḥammad*).[21])

Further indication of the same tendency of thought regarding the *wilāyah* of 'Alī, i.e. that the belief in it is an essential of the faith, are to be found in the ceremonial prayers and the official devotions contained in the four canonical books. *The confession of the two-tenet shahādah*, for instance, *is not enough to save the believer from the torment inflicted in the grave.*[22]) Thus, in the *Prayer for the*

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[19]) *Uṣul*, II, 18, Tehran, 1375/1956.

[20]) *idem*.

[21]) *ibid.*, 19.

[22]) "Our belief concerning the questioning, (*musā'alah*), in the grave is that it is true and that there is no escape from it. He who answers in the proper manner will obtain rest and perfume in his grave and the Garden of Delight in the life to come. And he who does not answer in the proper manner, for him (there will be) the 'feast of boiling water' (LVI:93) in his grave and the roasting in hellfire in the next world. Most of the torment of the grave takes place on account of back-biting and rudeness and making light of (the impurity of) urine. The severest form of torment that is inflicted in the grave on the rightful believer is like the (involuntary) trepidation of the eyelid or scarification. These torments are in expiation of sins for which his anxieties and griefs and diseases and the excess of pain at the moment of death did not atone." Ibn Bābūyah al-Ṣaddūq, *Risālat al-I'tiqādāt al-Imāmiyyah*, MS. 26074., f12b.,

Dead, the following procedure is laid down: "When the deceased is put in his grave, you recite the verse of *al-Kursī* (II:256), strike your hand on his right shoulder and say, 'O so and so! You had assented to the One God as your God and Islām as your religion and Muḥammad, may God bless him and his progeny, as prophet and 'Alī, peace be on him, as Imām."[23]) Ibn Bābuyah al-Ṣaddūq gives a slightly different version of this, inserting the word, "*walī*," before "*Imām*."[24]) On the authority of the Sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Kulīnī reports that at the moment of death, the Prophet accompanied by 'Alī, the angel Gabriel and the Angel of Death, appears before the dying man. 'Alī comes near him and says, 'O Messenger of God! This man loved the Family of the House, so love him. The Messenger of God says, 'O Gabriel! This man loved God, His Messenger and the Family of His Messenger, so love him. Gabriel says to the Angel of Death, 'This man loved God, His Messenger and the Family of His Messenger, so love him and have mercy on him. The Angel of Death comes near him (the deceased) and says, 'O servant of God! Have you redeemed your life? Have you taken a safe conduct for yourself? Have you taken hold of the greatest protection in the life of this world?' He (the Imām) said, God, to Him belong glory and power, will help him and will say, 'Yes. [The Angel of Death proceeds] 'What is that?' He says, 'The *wilāyah* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.' Then, he will say, 'You have spoken truth fully. As to what you have feared, God has given you safety; as to what you have hoped for, you have attained it."[25]) A remarkable illustration that belief in the *wilāyah* of 'Alī is essential for deliverance from the torment of the grave is the following extract from the tale of the burial of Fāṭimah bint Asad, 'Alī's mother whom "Muḥammad buried shrouded in his own shirt": " ...Wherefore did I (Muḥammad) shroud her in my own shirt and reclined in her grave, and stooped over her and instructed

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S. O. A. S., University of London; *A Shi'ite Creed.* (Eng. Trans.), Fyzee, 60, Cambridge 1942. See also, al-Ṣaddūq, *'Ilal al-Shara'i'*, I, 309—310, Najaf 1382/1963. Cf. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Taṣḥiḥ al-I'tiqād*, 44—7, Tabriz 1371/1951. About early Sunnī traditions and views concerning the *musā'alah*, see, A. J. WENSINCK, *The Muslim Creed*, 104, 117—129, 163—7, 195, Cambridge 1932.

[23]) Kulīnī, *Furū' al-Kāfī*, 54, lith. Persia 1302/1884; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, I, 129, lith. Persia, 1318/1900.

[24]) *Man lā* ..., 68.

[25]) "'*innahu 'idhā kāna dhālika wa'ḥtaḍara ḥaḍarahu rasūlu 'llāhi ṣalla 'llāhu 'alayhi wa-'ālihi wa-'aliyyun 'alayhi 'al-salamu wa- jibrīlu wa-maliku'l-mawti 'alayhimā al-salāmu fayadnū minhu 'aliyyun fayaqūl ya rasūla 'llāhi 'inna hādha kāna yuḥibbuna 'ahla 'l-bayti fa 'aḥibbah. wa-yaqūlu rasūlu 'llāhi yā jibrīlu 'inna hādha kāna yuḥibbu 'llāha wa-rasūlahu wa-'ahla bayti rasūlihi fa'aḥibbahu wa-yaqūlu jibrīlu limaliki 'l-mawti 'inna hādha kāna yuḥibbu 'llāha wa-rasūlahu wa-'ahla bayti rasūlihi fa'aḥibbahu wa'rfaq bihi fayadnu minhu maliku'l-mawti fayaqūl yā 'abda 'llāhi 'akhadhta fakāka raqbatika 'akhadhta 'amāna barā'atika tamassakta bi'l-'iṣmati 'l-kubra fī al-ḥayāti al-dunya. Qāla fayuwaffiquhu 'llāhu 'azza wa-jalla fayaqūl na'am. Fayaqūl wa-mā dhālika fayaqūl wilāyatu 'aliyyi 'bni 'abī ṭālib 'alayhi 'al-salām fayaqūl ṣadaqta 'mmā 'alladhī kunta taḥdharuhu faqad 'amanaka'llāhu minhu wa-'ammā 'alladhī kunta tarjūhu faqad 'adraktahu.*" *Furū'*, 36—7.

her regarding the matters about which she would be questioned. She was asked about her Lord, and she said: 'My Lord is the One God.' And she was asked about her prophet and she replied 'Muḥammad.' And she was asked about her Imām and *walī* and she faltered and paused. And I said to her: 'Thy son, thy son.' So she said: 'My Imām is my son. Thereupon they [the two angels Munkar and Nakīr] departed from her and said: 'We have no power over you.'"[26])

Among other prayers whose earliest available versions as contained in the Twelver-*shī'ī* canonical books express the belief in the *wilāyah*, the following may be cited:

The Prayer of Thanksgiving which reads as follows: "O God! You are my witness and Your angels and Your prophets and Your messengers are my witnesses and all Your creation is my witness that You, O God! are my Lord and that Islām is my religion and that Muḥammad is my prophet and that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—and [here] the prayer shall name the eleven Imāms—are my Imāms. I take them as my *walīs* and I repudiate their enemies. (*'allāhumma 'innī 'ushhiduka wa-'ushhidu malā'ikataka wa-'anbiyā'aka wa-rasūlaka wa-jamī'a khulqika 'annaka 'anta rabbī wa'l-'islāmu dīnī wa-muḥammadun nabiyyī wa-'aliyyu'bnu 'abī ṭālib (wa-tusammī al-'a'immah) 'a'immatī bihim 'atawalla wa-min 'a'dā'ihim 'atabarra'*)."[27])

The Prayer of Ta'qīb as quoted by Kulīnī on the authority of the Sixth Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq reads as follows: "O God! Obedience and servitude to You and the *walāyah* to Your Messenger and the *walāyah* to Your Imāms (and here you name them), may peace be upon them, are incumbent upon me. O God! Obedience to You and *walāyah* to them are incumbent upon me. (*'allāhumma 'innī 'adīnuka bi-ṭā'atika wa-walāyatika wa-walāyati rasūlika wa-walāyati 'l-'a'immati 'alayhim 'al-salām (wa-tusammihim). 'allāhumma 'innī 'adinuka biṭā'atika wa-walāyatihim.*)"[28])

These traditions and extracts from daily and ceremonial prayers quoted on the authority of the *Imāms* in the Four Books are evidence that the early Twelver-*shī'ī* jurists, long before Majlisī, ruled the belief in the *wilāyah* of 'Alī as equally essential to true faith and salvation as belief in the unity of God and in the mission of Muḥammad. But, far from ignoring the doctrinal hazards involved in inserting the slightest alteration in the wording of the *shahādah*, let alone adding a third tenet to it, they were cautious enough to endeavour not to link the belief in the *wilāyah* of 'Alī literally to the formal phraseology of the confession. They were also actuated by the necessity of safeguarding their creed against the extremist 'Alid tendencies of the *Ghulāt* and by the wish to stand on uncontroversial ground in their arguments with their *Sunnī* contemporaries. Thus, they chose the safer path of establishing belief in the *wilāyah* of 'Alī as a pillar of the faith beside the generally accepted pillars of *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, fasting and pilgrimage, but ranking it first. In this, however, they were not altogether logical, for, juristically, the other pillars are deeds (*'a'māl*) while the belief in the *wilāyah* is faith, i.e. in the same category as the two professions of belief contained in the *shahādah*: once the phrase "I bear witness that 'Alī is the *walī* of God" was formulated, as a matter of consistency it should have been uttered as part of the one formula expressing the confession of the faith.

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[26]) Ṣaddūq, *Risālah*, f. 13a; Fyzee, *Creed*, 61.

[27]) Ṣaddūq, *Man lā* ..., 69. [28]) *Furu'*, 96.

By the time of Majlisī, hostile polemics had lost their keenness and the danger of the influence of the *Ghulāt* sects was over. The belief in the *wilāyah* had deepened among the *Imāmīs* and political circumstances demanded that the *Shī'ī* communities should give outward expression to their beliefs and manifest their points of difference with the *Sunnīs*. It had, thus, become imperative that the dual confession of the faith formulated by the Sunnī jurists and promulgated by the *Shī'īs*, perhaps under the influence of the *Sunnī* domination, should give way to a truer expression of the Twelver-*shī'ī* creed.

In fact, the evolution of the Twelver-*shī'ī* three-tenet *shahādah* reveals the dilemma of the Twelver-*shī'ī* jurist which had resulted from his formal acceptance of the *Qur'ānic* dogma that Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets, while, nevertheless his line of thought and argument demands belief in the necessary continuance of the prophetic mission after Muḥammad.

The Doctrine of the Imāmate as the Continuance of Prophecy which Twelver-*shī'ī* jurists developed simultaneously with their doctrine of *wilāyah* was their solution to this dilemma, and provided the theological-juridical basis for the continuance of infallible prophetic mission personified in 'Alī and his descendants, the eleven Imāms.

INTERVENTIONS IN ADHAN THROUGHOUT ISLAMIC HISTORY: AN EVALUATION

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Abstract

Throughout history, there had been some interventions aimed at changing the adhan, (Islamic call to prayer), which is chanted five times a day in the minarets to inform Muslim people about the time of prayer. Some of these interventions were to prevent it simply from being chanted or from being chanted in the minarets with high voice. Since these types of interventions were politically-oriented and basically had nothing to do with the Islamic sciences (disciplines), we will not focus on them specifically. A second type of intervention was to prevent it from being chanted in its original language, Arabic. For instance, as a result of this type of intervention, in Turkey, adhan had been chanted in Turkish for 18 years from 1932 to 1950. Again, we will not get into that case since we already dealt with it in another article. A third type of intervention was to add some utterances to its original version. In this article, we will stay focused on that issue. We will shortly tackle the emergence of adhan, how it came about in the first place, and then we will take up the issue who in the history inserted additional utterances to adhan, and why and in which ways they did it. We will also take up the opinions of the various historical scholars of the Sunni sects about the case, how they evaluated the interventions, as well as how they reacted to those attempts.

Since it is a fundamental religious 'sign' and is chanted five times a day, one can contend that it has also an aspect of psycho-social importance. In this work, we will also try to tackle the social and psychological tensions which resulted from those interventions and thereby pointing out the crucial social problems stemming from the kinds of interventions on religious

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symbols. It has been noted that interventions on the symbols of religious importance may result in enormous sociological, thereby political and economic problems. One should recall the fact that the international turmoil caused by the cartoons published by a newspaper in Denmark about the most fundamental human figure of the religion of Islam are still, one can assert, fresh in Muslim collective consciousness.

Keywords: Intervention of Adhan, Additions to Adhan, Religious Symbols.

I. Legitimacy and Importance of Adhan as a Fundamental Religious Sign

Whereas the root of the word 'adhan' means to inform, to call out, to invite and to announce (Al-Isfahânî, 1986: 15; Ibn Manzûr, 1994: XIII, 9; Al-Munâvî, 1410: 46; Ab Al-Baqâ, 1992: 72; Udra, 1994: 13-16), as a term, it means the following: "an invitation chanted by peculiar words specified by the scripture." (Al-Munâvî, 46; Ab Al-Baqâ, 72; Al-Shawqâni, 1973: II, 9; Çetin, 1995: XII, 36.) Through adhan, Muslim people learn about the time of prayer (Udra, 1994: 16.) and get an open invitation to praying (Al-Fîrûzâbâdi, 1997: II, 1545).

Adhan, as a religious tenet, was first issued in Madina in the first year of the Islamic calendar (C.E. 623) (Al-Quraishi, 2003: IV, 573). In other words, the prayers, as ritualistic movements introduced by the religion of Islam, which were done by the Prophet in the years of Mecca were without adhan and iqame, a set of utterances similar to that of adhan which summons Muslims to line up for the beginning of the prayers fulfilled collectively (Al-Asqalânî, 1986: II, 93; Udra, 1994: 19). In the early years of Medina, to inform the time of prayer, an attendant companion of the Prophet was to shout out 'as-salah as-salah' in the streets and market places meaning 'let's go to prayer.' (Al-Qurtubî, 1985: VI, 225). Indeed, there were special signs espoused by Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians for that matter to announce the times of their prayers. Jews were blowing a horn called '*bouk*.' Christians were playing a large bell called '*naakuus.*' And Zoroastrians were making a fire on a high place (Juynboll, 1997: IV, 429; Çetin, 1995: XII, 36).

Muslims in Madina at the time of the Prophet were most probably resentful that other religious groups and communities had a 'symbolic sign' to be informed about their praying times. One can contend that

Muslim people were psychologically affected when they heard the Jewish horn called *bouk* and the Christian bell called *naakuus* and saw the smokes coming out of the Zoroastrian fire. This can also be inferred from their attitudes in the face of some developments that we will take up in the following. On the other hand, the fact that the early Muslims did not have such a sign was causing problems for them in terms of their status in the whole Arab world. Because at that age, such symbols had sociological benefits of traditional importance that cannot be overseen. The social groups are inclined to get identified with a symbol and become known and reputed for that sign. Moreover, the symbol consolidates the members of the social group and unifies them. Thus and so the symbol becomes of unique importance, and the group, taking every possible measure to protect it, never gives up on it.

Muhammed Yazır (d. 1942), a Turkish scholar of Quranic Commentary (Tafsir), talks about *qibla*, the direction to which Muslims turn when they worship, pointing out the importance of social and religious symbols, and says the following: "The issue of *qibla* has so much importance for any nation, and as well as any large international community of a given religion. Because religious symbols bring mind (spirit) and body of a given society together. On the other hand, the kind of spirituality that has no physical appearance might have no effects on people. It may be impossible to find people coming to a unified social entity based only on spiritual togetherness. The existence of a spiritual unity can become latent through the physical togetherness the members of the unity yield. So the physical body of a group gets strengthened by its spiritual aspect and vice versa. And the 'social spirit' may come about eventually. *Qibla*, therefore, is the first tangible phenomenon that reinforces the religiously- oriented international communities." (Yazır, 1971: I, 533). The importance of *qibla* as a symbol is being pointed out dramatically in the following Quranic verse: "And if you brought to those who were given the Scripture every sign, they would not follow your qibla." (Al-Baqara, 2/145). The verse also points out that, as a city of *qibla*, that is, the direction of praying, and thus as a symbolic city, Jerusalem was so important for Jews that they were decisive about not giving up on it. Because of the importance of religious signs and symbols, the above-mentioned verse advises Muslims to lay claim on their religious signs and symbols, let alone not giving up on them. As a matter of fact, the same verse, having stated that the People of the Book (people who were given the Scripture, i.e., Jews and Christians) would never espouse the Muslims' *qibla*, advises Muslims not to espouse their *qibla* as in the following: "They [those who were given the Scripture]

would not follow your qibla. Nor will you be a follower of their qibla. Nor would they be followers of one another's qibla. So if you were to follow their desires after what has come to you of knowledge, indeed, you would then be among the wrongdoers." (Al-Baqara, 2/145).

Therefore, the Prophet desired that there should be a sign or a symbol for the purpose of calling out Muslim people to prayer. This desire was so heavy that he gathered his companions occasionally to consult them about the case. In these gatherings, the opinions of his companions naturally varied: whereas some of them offered to use a horn just like that of Jewish people, some others offered to play a large bell much like that of Christians, and a few of them even offered to make a fire just like Zoroastrians did. All these opinions, it should be noted, were in fact indicative of the fact that Muslims were somehow influenced by the major symbols of other religious groups living in Madina at that time. In other words, when searching for a symbol, the first thing that came to their minds was the symbols that belonged to other religious groups. Because these symbols were so strongly familiar to them, they immediately thought of having symbols of the same sort. Some of the companions of the Prophet, however, were thinking of having different kinds of symbols, in accordance with the fact that they as a community were different than the other religious communities of Madina. For instance, some companions of the Prophet offered to raise a flag at the times of prayers.

However, the Prophet did not accept any of the opinions of his companions[1] He was only desiring to have a sign or a symbol absolutely peculiar to Muslim people (Udra, 1994: 25-26). Because, to use any of the symbols that belonged to the other religious communities living in Madina at the time meant to give in to their perception of the world and religion. And having to use the symbols of other religions could demoralize the Muslims and perhaps pave the way for them being underestimated by their adversaries at the time. As a matter of fact, when Muslims first came to Madina they had to turn to Jerusalem during their prayers. And this condition was to some degree abused by Jews in Madina leading them to disdain Muslims since they did not have an Islamic *qibla* peculiar to them. One can put forward the following Quranic verse as an evidence of that

1 See: Al-Bukhârî, Abû Abd Allâh Muhammad Ibn Abî Al-Hasan Ismail, (1401/1981). *Sahîh Al-Bukhâri.* İstanbul: Çağrı yay., Kitâb Al-Adhân, 1-4; Muslim, Ibn Al-Hajjâj, (1401/1981). *Sahîh Al-Muslim.* İstanbul: Çağrı yay., Kitâb Al-Salâh, 1; Al-Nasâî, Abû Abdurrahmân Ahmad, (1401/1981). *Sunen Al-Nasâî.* İstanbul: Çağrı yay., Kitâb Al-Adhân, 1; Ibn Sayyid Al-Nâs, Muhammad Ibn Abdillâh, (1406/1986). *Al-Sîrah Al-Nabawiyah Al-Musammâ Uyûn Al-Âthâr fî Funûn Al-Maghâzî wa Al-Shamâil wa Al-Siyar.* Al-Qâhira: Maktabah Al-Qudsî *I*, 269.

disdain: "And from wherever you go out [for prayer], turn your face toward Al-Masjid Al-Haram. And wherever you [believers] may be, turn your faces toward it in order that the people will not have any argument against you [since you do not have a *qibla* and have been using the Jewish one]." (Al-Baqara, 2/150).

Moreover, the following verse can also be read as clearly indicating the fact that the Prophet was in a psychological state in which he was constricted since Muslims were turning to the Jewish *qibla* instead of one peculiar to them: "We have certainly seen the turning of your face, [O Muhammad], toward the heaven, and We will surely turn you to a qibla with which you will be pleased." (Al-Baqara, 2/144). According to the historical books of Quranic exegesis, the Prophet was under strain because he was using the same *qibla* as that of Jews. For this reason, the Prophet was at times raising his head towards the sky expecting a divine intervention making way out of his predicament, as pointed out in the above mentioned verse.[2] The same verse is also indicative of the fact that the Prophet was pleased when it announced the change of *qibla* from Bait Al-Maqdis, which is in Jerusalem, to Masjid al Haram, which is in Mecca. The rest of the above-mentioned verse is the following: "So turn your face toward Al-Masjid Al-Haram. And wherever you [believers] are, turn your faces toward it [in prayer]. Indeed, those who have been given the Scripture well know that it is the truth from their Lord. And Allah is not unaware of what they do." (Al-Baqara, 2/144).

One can easily conclude that, just like the Prophet himself, all the Muslims at that time were looking forward to having a *qibla* peculiar to them and became happy and joyful when Kaaba (Masjid Al-Haram) was assigned to be *qibla* for them. As a matter of fact, it has been historically reported that, when a group of the companions of the Prophet were in praying they suddenly turned to Kaaba upon hearing the announcement about the

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2 See: Al-Tabarî, Ab Al-Ja'far Muhammed Ibn Jarîr, (1422/2002). *Jâmi'l-Al-Bayân 'an Ta'wîli Ây Al-Qur'ân.* (Edit. by. Abdullah b. Abdulmuhsin al-Turkî), Al-Qâhira: Dâr Hajar, III/606-608; Al-Mâwardî, Ab Al-Hasan Ali b. al-Muhammad, (no date). *al-Nüket wa al-Uyûn (Tafsîr al-Mâwardî)*, (Edit. By Al-Sayyid Abdulmaksûd Abdurrahîm), Bairut: Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya-Muassasah al-Kutub al-Thaqâfiyye, I/202; Al-Zamahsherî, Ab Al-Kasim Mahmûd b. Omar Jârullah, (1418/1998). *Al-Kashshâf an Haqâiqi Ghawâmid al-Tenzîl wa Uyûn al-Aqâwîl fî Wujuh al-Tanzîl*. (Edit. by A.A. Abdulmawjûd-A.M.Muawwid), Al-Riyâd: Maktabah al-Ubeykân, I/342; Al-Andulusî, Ab Al-Muhammed Abd al-Haq Ibn al-Atiyya, (1422/2001). *Al-Muharrar al-Wajîz fî Tafsîr al-Kitâb al-Azîz*, (Edit. By Abdussalam Abdurraûf Muhammad). Bairut: Dâr al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya I/221-222; İbn Al-Jawzî, Jamâluddin Abu Al-Faraj Abd Al-Rahmân, (1422). *Zâd Al-Mesîr fî İlm al-Tafsîr*, (Edit. by. Abdurrazzâq al-Mahdî), Dâr al-Kutub al-Arabî, *I*, 121; Al-Râzî, Ab Abdullah Muhammad b. Omar Fakhr al-Dîn, (1401/1981). *Mafâtîh al-Ghayb (al-Tafsîr al-Kabîr)*. Dâr al-Fikr, IV/94; Yazır, 1971, *I*, 527.

change of *qibla*.[3] This is indicative of the fact that they were already prone to have a *qibla* of their own. In other words, this attitude shows that they were constricted for they were having to use a symbol that belonged to other religious traditions.

The fact that Muslims at that time did not have a symbol of their own to get informed about the time of prayer was to make the Prophet regretful as well as his companions themselves. In other words, like the Prophet himself, his companions too were in search of a symbol specific to them. They were making suggestions regarding the case; however, these suggestions would not be accepted by the Prophet since they were putting forth symbols similar to the ones belonging to other religious traditions. And this was increasingly affecting them over time. As we mentioned before, in the early years of Islam, they did not have a *qibla* of their own and had to turn to Bait Al-Maqdis in Jerusalem, the Jewish *qibla*, in their prayers. And the Jews of Madina were abusing this condition and using it as a means of disdaining Muslims. Furthermore, Muslims were also uneasy about the possibility of them using the same symbol to announce the praying times as that of the other religious traditions. They were so occupied with this issue that some of them were seeing visions in their dreams. As a matter of fact, a companion of the Prophet named Abdullah Ibn Zayd saw a vision in his dream right after a meeting about how to announce the times of prayers. Abdullah saw an old man in his dream teaching him adhan as it is chanted today in the Muslim (Sunni) world. Abdullah got off his bed in joy and exuberance and as soon as the morning time came he went to the Prophet and notified him about the dream. The Prophet then said the following: "This is a true vision. Go ahead and teach Bilal [another companion of the Prophet who was known for his beautiful voice] what you have already been taught so that he will chant adhan accordingly. Because his voice is more stentorian than yours." And this way adhan was affirmed and began to be recited from then on.[4]

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3 See: Al-Bukhârî, *Sahîh Al-Bukhârî,* Kitâb Al-Imân, Bâb As-Salât min Al-Imân, Bâb mâ Jâe fî Al-Qibla, 29; Muslim, *Sahihu Muslim*, Bâb Tahwil al-Qibla 2, Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Al-Dâramî, *Sunen Al-Dâramî,* Bâb fî Tahwil Al-Qibla; Al-Asqalânî, Ab Al-Fadl Ahmed Ibn Ali Ibn Hajar, (1419). *Al-Metâlib Al-Âliyye bi Zevâid Al-Mesânîd Al-Themâniyya.* As-Suûdiyya: Dâr Al-Âsime, *III*/309.

4 İbn Hishâm, Abû Muhammad Abd Al-Mâlik, (1985). *Al-Sîrah Al-Nabawiyyah li Ibn Hishâm,* (Edited by M. Al-Sîqâ-I.Al-Abyârî-A.Shalabî), Bairut: Dâr Ihyâ Al-Turâs Al-Arabî, *II,* 508-509; Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad, (1402/1982). *Musnedu Ahmad Ibn Hanbal.* İstanbul: Çağrı yay., *IV,* 42-43; Al-Dâramî, *Sunen Al-Dâramî.* Kitâb Al-Salâh, 3; Al-Tirmidhî, Abû Isâ Muhammad, *Sunen Al-Tirmidhî.* Kitâb Al-Salâh, 139; Ibn Mâja, Abû Abd Allâh Muhammad Ibn Yezîd, (1401/1981). *Sunenu Ibn Mâj,* İstanbul: Çağrı yay., Kitâb Al-Adhan, 1; Ibn Sayyid Al-Nâs, 1986: *I*, 269-270; Udra, 1994: 26-27; Al-Kûsî,

Omar Ibn Hattab and some other companions of the Prophet saw a vision similar to that of Abdullah Ibn Zayd (Ibn Hishâm, 1985: II, 509; See also: Ibn Seyyid Al-Nâs, 1986: I, 270-271; Al-Sarakhsî, 1982: I, 128; Ibn Hajar, 1986: II, 93-94). In fact, most of these companions were surprised when they heard Bilal reciting adhan and thus came to the Prophet saying that they had seen visions in their dreams in which they heard the same utterances (Ibn Hishâm, 1985: II, 509; Ibn Seyyid Al-Nâs, I, 1986: 270-271; Al-Sarakhsî, 1982: I, 128; Ibn Hajar, 1986: II, 93-94). This clearly shows that the close companions of the Prophet were definitely occupied with the search for a symbolic sign to summon Muslims for worship.

Nevertheless, the one companion who first came up with his vision to the Prophet to give rise to the utterances of adhan was Abdullah Ibn Zayd. It was of course honoring for him to give rise to adhan through the vision he saw in his dream that has been recited five times a day on the minarets in the whole Muslim world. Of course, he was happy about it too. As a matter of fact, it has been mentioned in the classical books that Omar Ibn Hattab, who saw a similar vision in his dream, was somewhat resentful that Abdullah had first given rise to adhan as it is recited today.[5]

Another close companion of the Prophet who was extremely happy about the development concerning adhan must have been Bilal. Because as he was the greatest reciter of adhan at the time of the Prophet, he most definitely recited it as if he was also trying to say such words as the following: 'From now on, we also have a symbol of our own, which is more meaningful than those of yours.

It should also be noted that the other religious groups living in Madina at the time must have felt discomforted and disturbed upon hearing the first adhan. Especially the People of the Book must have felt discomforted since they were expecting Muslims to come up with a symbol very similar to theirs: not only the symbol that Muslims came up with was different, it was also a novelty for all the religious groups of Madina. As a matter of fact, in the early books of Islamic history, there are pieces of information indicating the extreme reaction of those religious groups. For example, it has been reported that, upon hearing adhan, some of the Jews of Madina ridiculed and made fun of it and came to the Prophet and said the following: "You have just come up with something that no prophets of God

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Abû Khatim Usâma Ibn Abd Allâh, (1408/1987). *Kitâb Al-Adhân.* Muesseseh Qurtubâ li Al-Nashr wa Al-Tawzî'. 19. For the other relevant hadiths see: Al-Kûsi, *ibid,* 12-36.

5 See: Al-Tirmidhî, *Sunen Al-Tirmidhî.* Bâb mâ Jâe fi Bedi' Al-Adhan, 139.

dared to put forth before. Where did you get this noise that is much like that of an animal? What a bad and ugly voice!" (Al-Wâhidî, 1991: 202-203; Al-Râzî, 1981: XII, 33; Al-Qurtubî, 1985: VI, 224). Moreover, it has been narrated that a Christian man said "let the one who lies get burnt" upon hearing the part of adhan that reads 'Ashadu anna Muhammad Rasulullah' ('I bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of God'). However, the same narration also adds the following information: "the man who said these words died in a house fire accidentally caused by his servant." (see: Al-Wâhidî, 203; Al-Râzî; 1981: XII, 33; Al-Qurtubî, VI, 233; Al-Baydâwî, (w.date). 273; Ibn Kathîr, 1985: III, 132).

Muslim scholars of Quranic exegesis report that 58th verse of the Quranic chapter called Maida is related to the negative responses of the other religious groups in Madina. The verse reads as follows: "And when you call to prayer, they take it in ridicule and amusement. That is because they are a people who do not use reason." (Al-Râzî, XII, 33; Al-Qurtubî, VI, 224; XV, 360). Furthermore, some scholars state that 33rd verse of the chapter called Fussilat is about bolstering and praising those who recite adhan and espouse it as a symbol. This verse reads as follows: "And who is better in speech than one who invites to Allah and does righteousness and says, 'Indeed, I am of the Muslims.'" (Al-Râzî, XII, 33; Al-Qurtubî, VI, 224; XV, 360).

Whereas Jews and Christians felt discomforted and angry with the new Islamic symbol Muslims naturally felt exuberant and extremely happy about it. When they heard Bilal's voice they happily rushed into the mosque of the Prophet and congratulated each other. The enthusiasm felt by Muslims upon hearing the first adhan, one could contend, repeated itself throughout the history of Islam. In this regard, one could mention the following examples: when the first adhan was recited by the close companion of the Prophet, Bilal, over the conquest of Mecca by Muslims; when it was recited by Bilal in the reign of the second Caliphate Omar Ibn Hattab –prior to that, Bilal had left Madina upon the death of the Prophet leading him to mourn for years–; and when it was recited in its original Arabic utterances in the year of 1950 in Turkey after the ban of the Arabic adhan that lasted 18 years in which it was replaced with the one with Turkish utterances. In all these circumstances and perhaps many others similar to them, Muslims became so happy that they hugged and joyfully congratulated each other.

After adhan was legitimated and validated by the Prophet, Muslims started to use it as the only means to call people to prayers. Having being

recited over centuries, adhan will be recited till the end of time as one of the most fundamental symbols of Islam. (Gülle, 2009, 3-4; Günaydın, 2008: II, 33-35; Kamiloğlu, 2010: 221-222).

Adhan consists of the following utterances affirmed by the Prophet: 'Allâhu Akbar (Allah is greatest)' (4 times); 'Ashadu anlâ İlâhe illâllâh (I testify that there is no god but Allah)' (twice); 'Ashadu anna Muhammadan Rasûlullâh (I testify that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah)' (twice); 'Hayye ale's-Salâh (Hasten to the prayer)' (twice); 'Hayye ale'l-falâh (Hasten to recovery)' (twice); 'Allâhu Akbar (Allah is greatest)' (twice); 'Lâ İlâhe illâllâh (there is no god but Allah)' (once).'[6] All these utterances as being genuine are agreed upon by the (Sunni) Muslim scholars (Al-Sarakhsî, I, 128/129; Ibn Rushd, 1333: I, 82-83).

II. Utterances Added To Adhan throughout Islamic History

As we have said before, classical scholars of Islam agreed on the genuineness of the above-mentioned utterances of adhan, that they were confirmed by the Prophet himself. However, some other utterances were added to adhan in time. Of course, there were some psychosocial reasons behind that endeavor, which we will take up in the rest of the article. However, we will introduce those additional utterances, some of which were confirmed by the Prophet himself.

1. 'As-Salâtu Hayrun Mine'n-Navm': The first utterance added to adhan was done at the time of the Prophet. And it was done through the confirmation of the Prophet as well. One day, Bilal recited adhan to call Muslims to the morning prayer. Upon realizing that the Prophet was still asleep, he tried to wake him up by saying 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm' (prayer is better than sleep). The Prophet liked these utterances and ordered Bilal to repeat them at every morning praying time.[7] This way,

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6 See: Muslim, *Sahihu Muslim*, Bâb Sıfât Al-Adhan, 3; Abû Dâvûd Al-Sîjistânî, *Sunanu Abî Dâvûd,* Bâbu Kayf Al-Adhân; Abû Abdirrahman Al-Nasâî, *Al-Sunan Al-Kubrâ,* (Edited by Hasan Abdulmın'im Al-Shalabî), Bairût: Muesseseh Al-Risâla, 1421/2001), II/234 (Al-Adhân fî Al-Safar). For the profound meanings adhan contins, see: Al-Amîr al-San'ânî, *Teshnîf Al-Âdhân bi Asrâr al-Adhân,* 11-66.

7 See: Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, 1982: IV, 43; Al-Dâramî, 1981: Al-Salâh, 4, Al-Tathwîbu fî adhân Al-Fajr; Ibn Mâja, *ibid,* Al-Adhân, 1; Abû Ya'la Ahmad Ibn Ali Al-Tamîmî, (1404/1984). *Musnedu Abî Ya'lâ,* (Edited by Husain Selim Asad), Damascus: Dâr Al-Ma'mûn li Al-Turâth, IX, 379; Al-Aynî, Badr Al-Dîn Abû Muhammad Mahmud, (w. date). *Umdah Al-Qârî Sharh Al-Sahîh Al-Bukhârî,* Dâr Ihyâ Al-Turâth Al-Arabî, v. V, p. 108. In this regard, Al Tabarânî and some other scholars cite many more narratives. For these narratives and their evaluations, see: Al-Haythamî, Ab Al-Hasan Nuruddin

the first addition to adhan was done by the Prophet himself. In other words, even though it was not included in the first version of adhan, the part that reads 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm' was added to adhan after the part 'Hayye ale'l-falah' (hasten to recovery) as it is recited in the morning by the Prophet himself. As one can easily realize, this was a legitimate and valid addition since it was done through the consent of the Prophet (Udra, 1994: 36-39; Al-Kûsî, 1984: 62-79).

According to some narratives, however, this addition was done at the time of the second Caliphate Omar and through his consent as well. These narratives state that a reciter of adhan, after reciting and realizing that Omar is still asleep, added the part 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm' to adhan. Omar heard it and liked it and wanted the reciter to repeat it every morning time after the part that reads 'Hayye ale'l-falâh' (Hasten to recovery).[8] Nevertheless, it should be noted that whereas some scholars found this narrative doubtful and speculative some others espoused the following interpretation: according to this interpretation, Omar wanted to tell the reciter of adhan, who came by his house door and said 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm,' the following: "Instead of reciting that part at my door, recite it where you recite the whole adhan." (Al-Qurtubî, 1985: VI, 228-229).

Scholars of various Sunni sects held different opinions as to where to say this utterance in adhan. Hanafi scholars state that it can be inserted into the original utterances of adhan and that it can also be recited after all the original utterances of adhan were recited. According to Imam Shafii, Imam Malik and some other scholars, it should be recited after 'Hayye ale'l-falah.' (Al-Kâsânî, 1982: I, 148; Al-Qurtubî, 1985: VI, 228; Al-Shawkânî, 1973: II, 18). Another opinion was reported from Imam Shafii stating that this utterance cannot be recited at all (Ibn Rushd, 1333; I, 83; Al-Qurtubî, 1985: VI, 228). On the other hand, especially in the first generation following the close companions of the Prophet, there arose the widespread practice of saying 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm' or 'Hayye ale's-salâh' and 'Hayye ale'l-falâh' one more time between adhan and iqame. And this practice was found appropriate by scholars of Hanafi sect as appropriate (es-Serahsî, 1982: I, 130-131; Al-Kâsânî, 1982: I, 148-149).

Ali Ibn Abibekir, (1414/1994). *Majma' Al-Zevâid wa Manba' Al-Fewâid,* (Edited by Hisâmuddin Al-Qudsî), Al-Qâhira: Maktaba Al-Qudsî, I/330; Al-Shawkânî, 1973: II, 16-18.

8 See: Mâlik, Ibn Anas, (1401/1981). *Al-Muwatta'*. İstanbul: Çağrı Yay., Kitâb Al-Salâh, 1; Ibn Abî Shaiba, Abubekir, (1409). *Musannafu Ibn Abî Shaiba (Al-Musnnaf fi Al-Hadîth wa Al-Âthâr),* (Edited by Kamâl Yûsuf Al-Hût), Al-Riyâd: Maktaba Al-Rushd, I/189; Al-Qurtubî, 1985: VI, 228; Udra, 1994: 38.

When looking into the attitude of Bilal, one can conclude that he was highly experienced in regard to the proper respect towards the Prophet and ability to address the spirit of people. He could have chosen another way to wake up the Prophet who was asleep. But he found a perfectly delicate way containing one important fact in accordance with the religiously-oriented spirit of the time: "Prayer is better than sleep." By this utterance, Bilal both expressed his respect to the Prophet and found an extremely meaningful utterance leading Muslims to wake up and rush into prayer in an efficient way. As a matter of fact, from then on, every time (religiously-oriented) Muslim people heard this utterance they immediately woke up from their deep sleep and headed towards the prayer in high spirits. In other words, the meaningful utterance that Bilal came up with gained the consent of the Prophet and was attached since then to the adhan of morning time prayer. Thus, one can conclude, as he was the first reciter of adhan he was also honored for the fact that the utterance he came up with was added to adhan through the consent of the Prophet.

There were some other utterances added to adhan in later periods. Whereas some of these utterances were inserted between the original utterances of adhan some others were put at the end of adhan. We will first take up the utterances being added to adhan by Shiites and then the ones by Sunnis.

2. 'Hayye alâ Hayri'l-Amal' (Hasten to the best practice): This utterance is an addition especially or specifically used by Shiite Muslims in their adhan (Al-Murtadha, 1415: 137; Şahin, 2002: 36). The utterance meaning 'hasten to the best practice' is recited twice after "Hayye ale'l-falâh." (el-Hûfî, 1410: I, 150; es-Sistânî, 2008: I, 191; Udra, 1994: 45).

When Abu Ca'fer was narrating a hadith attributed to the Prophet in which there was the mention of the Angel Gabriel reciting adhan in Bait Al-Mamur at the night of Mi'raj, one of the people listening to him asked "How was adhan then?," and he said that adhan did not change as known before except that the utterance 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' was recited twice after the utterance 'Hayye ale'l-falah' at the time of the Prophet. Abu Cafer added that the Prophet wanted Bilal to include that part in adhan and he recited it likewise until the Prophet died (Al-Jazîrî etc, 1998: I, 438).

As-Sayyidu'l-Mukaddes Sharefuddîn said in this regard the following: "There is no doubt that the part of the adhan that reads 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' was included in adhan at the time of the Prophet. However, the

second Caliphate Omar, as the leading figure of the whole Muslim society, wanted to emphasize the idea of jihad and thus wanted to encourage people to engage in it. They found that the utterance that means 'the best practice is prayer' contradictory to their endeavor trying to encourage people to jihad. According to their thinking, if the reciters of adhan keep reciting this part five times a day people might start to think that the prayer is sufficient for their salvation and avoid jihad. Yet the leading figures of government in the Muslim world wanted to conquer both west and east through war. For this reason they wanted to rule out the part of adhan that reads 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal.' As a matter of fact, a scholar of Ashari School, Al-Kûshajî, wrote in his book called *Sharhu't-Tacrîd* that the second Caliphate Omar Ibn Hattab said the following: "There was the practice of three things at the time of the Prophet; however, I am putting an end to them and I will punish those who will not comply with my will. Those three things are *mut'a* (temporary marriage by intention), and also the kind of *mut'a* which is done during the season of pilgrimage, and the utterance in adhan that reads 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal.' Al-Kûshajî adds that "from that point on the part 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' was dropped. And Muslims started reciting the 'new adhan,' except the scholars of Ahl-i Bait (scholars who are related to the Prophet). Those scholars kept reciting adhan in its old version." (Al-Jazîrî etc, 1998: I, 439).

According to the scholars of Ahl-i Bait, a group of Muslim scholars who were related to the household of the Prophet, the part in adhan that reads 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' had been recited from time to time after the implementation of Caliphate Omar. According to what Abu'l-Farac Al-Isbahânî reported, when Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abu Taleb, the great grandson of Ali who was the son-in-law of the Prophet, came to Madina in the reign of the Abbasid caliphates, the incumbent Caliphate Al-Hâdî ordered the adhan reciter to also say 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' in adhan and the reciter did likewise (Al-Jazîrî etc, 1998: I, 438). Moreover, it has also been reported that Ibn Omar and Zaynalâbidin Ibn Ali recited 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' in adhan after the part 'Hayya ale'l falah.' (Al-Halabî, 1427; Al-Jazîrî etc, 1998: I, 439).

Another narration states that the addition of 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' to adhan took place in the course of the Battle of Khandaq (trench) at the time of the Prophet. According to this narration, while Muslims were busy digging the trenches there came the time of prayer and the reciter included the utterance 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' in adhan and so it was added to it (Udra, 1994: 47). In short, it has been conclusively reported

that the part of adhan that reads 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' is a genuine piece of the utterances of adhan (Al-Jazîrî etc, 1998: I, 439).

That Ibn Omar recited this part in adhan was also reported in the books of some Sunni scholars. According to an account available in Imam Malik's book titled *Muwatta'*, Nafi' narrated that Ibn Omar at times recited the utterance 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' immediately after reciting the utterance 'Hayye ale'l-falah.' (Ibn Abî Shaiba, 1409: I, 196; Udra, 1994: 47).

On the other hand, Al-Tabarânî (d. 360/970) reported that the close companion of the Prophet, Bilal, recited 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' in the adhans of morning prayers; however, instead of that utterance, the Prophet told him to say 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm' (prayer is better than sleep) (Al-Tabarânî, 1994: I, 152; Al-Bayhaqî, 2003: I, 624, 625; Al-Haythamî, I, 330). Also, Al-Bayhaqi (d. 458/1066), talking about this issue, stated that all the narrations in this regard are unreliable and that there was no such addition among the utterances that the Prophet taught Bilal. He added that he found this utterance being attached to adhan later inappropriate and outrageous for that matter (Al-Bayhaqî, 2003: I, 625). Moreover, Ibn Daqîq, Al-Nawawi (d. 676/1277) and some other scholars also considered this addition as inappropriate (Al-Zaylaî, 1997: I, 291).

Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) stated that those who added the part 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' to adhan were the extreme branch of Shi'ism, Rafidiyya, and that they added such utterances to adhan which were not known at the time of the Prophet. Stating that the narration that was attributed to Ibn Omar was actually not sound, Ibn Taymiyya also said the following: "If there had been such an addition to adhan at the time of the Prophet it would have been conveyed to us." (Ibn Taymiyya, 1406: VI, 293-294).

Al-Shawkânî (d. 1250/1834), stated in his book called *Nayl Al-Ewtâr* that this narration was claimed to be available in Shi'a sources with a sound linkage of narrators and that it had been directly attributed to the Prophet and that even Imam Shafii had allegedly espoused the idea. However, having stated that he never came across such an addition in Shafii sources, in his final analysis, he concluded that there was agreement among the four imams of the mainstream Sunni sects that the addition simply was not of adhan (Al-Shawkânî, 1973: II, 18-19.).

Al-Kûsî, having evaluated all the narratives concerning the case, stated that the relevant addition was actually not available in any sound hadith

and that all the narrations were weak and most of them were fabricated for that matter (Al-Kûsî, 1987: 301).

One can realize that in later periods of the Islamic history, the utterance 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' was inserted to adhan by some administrators and was taken off of it by some others.[9] As a matter of fact, according to the reporting in the book called *Al-Bidâya wa Al-Nihâya*, in the year 860 (of Islamic calendar, which correspond to 1455 C.E.), Cafer Ibn Fellah ordered the reciters of adhan to include the part 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' after 'Hayye ale'l-falâh' and they did so since they were utterly unable to go against his will (Ibn Kathîr, 2003: XVI, 503). On the other hand, there is mention of those who removed the part from adhan in the book called *Shadharât Al-Dhahab* (Al-Akrî , 1986: VI, 129).

According to what Jalaluddin As-Suyûtî (d. 911/1505) stated in his book titled *Al-Hâvî li'l-Fetâvâ*, there is a reporting in the book of Yâkût Al-Hamevî titled *Mu'cemu'l-Udebâ* as in the following: When Nureddîn Al-Shahîd, opened up a madrasa (school) in Haleb (Aleppo) he called up the great scholar of Hanafi sect at the time named Al-Burhân Al-Balhî to teach there. And he complied and came to teach in that madrasa. At those times in Haleb adhan was being recited in accordance with the Shi'a approach, that is, the utterance 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' was being included in adhan. Upon getting informed about this, Al-Balhî told the incumbent juristic scholars (al-fuqaha) of Haleb to order the adhan reciters to drop the utterance 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' and added the following: "Whoever abstains from reciting adhan in its legitimate form [the one without the utterance of 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal'] do throw them down from the minarets upside down." The incumbent scholars ordered the reciters likewise and they started to recite adhan without the addition of 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal.' (Al-Suyûtî, 2004: I, 146).

3. Ashadu Anna Aliyyen Waliyyullâh: This utterance simply means **'**I bear witness that Ali is the *wali* (saint) of God' and was added to adhan by

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9 For more information: Ibn Al-Athîr, Izzuddin, (1417/1997). *Al-Kâmil fi Al-Târîkh,* (Edited by Omar Abdusselam Tedemmurî), Bairût: Dâr Al-Kutub Al-Arabî, VIII/222; Al-Dhahabî, Shamsuddin Abû Abdillah Muhammed Ibn Ahmad Ibn Kaymaz, (2003). *Târîkh Al-Islâm wa Wafayât Al-Mashâhîr wa Al-A'lâm.* (Edited by Beshshar Avvâd Ma'rûf). Bairût: Dâr Al-Gharb Al-Islâmî, VIII/517, IX/607, X/245, XIII/513; Ibn Kathîr, Abu Al-Fidâ Ismail, (1424/2003). *Al-Bidâya wa Al-Nihâya,* (Edited by Abdullah Ibn Abdulmuhsin Al-Turkî). Dâru Hajar, XV/318, 329; Ibn Taghriverdî, Abu Al-Mahâsin Jamaluddin Yûsuf (w. date). *Al-Nujûm Al-Zâhira fî Mulûki Misr wa Al-Qâhira.* Misr: Wizâra Al-Thakâfa wa Al-Irshâd Al-Qawmî, IV/32, 58; V/6, 49, 120, VI/250; Al-Shawkânî, Muhammad Ibn Ali, (w. date). *Al-Badr Al-Tâli'bi Mehâsini men Ba'de Al-Qarn Al-Tâsi.* Bairût: Dâr Al-Ma'rife, II/122.

Muslims who appertain to Shi'ism and is recited twice after the utterance of 'Ashadu anna Muhammadan Rasûlullâh' (I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God) (Udra, 1994: 45). Reciting this utterance not only constitutes saying that Ali is one of the saints of God on earth, it also constitutes admitting and stating that he is the most beneficent, the greatest and the best of the people living on earth after the Prophet (Al-Maylânî, 1421: 12). In some sources, this utterance was recorded as 'Ashadu anna Aliyyan bi'lhakki Waliyyullah' (I bear witness that Ali is really *wali [saint]* of God) (Udra, 1994: 45). However, there is no consensus by Ahl-i Bait scholars as to whether the utterance is a genuine part of adhan (Şahin, 2002: 38-46). In fact, it has also been reported that the juristic scholars agreed that the utterance is not a genuine part of adhan. However, they found that to 'complete' and mature the two testimonies, i. e., 'Ashadu anlâ ilâhe illellâh' and 'Ashadu anna Muhammadan Rasûlullâh,' with a third one being the utterance 'Ashadu anna Aliyyen waliyyullah as *mustahabb* (a recommended, favored or virtuous action in Islamic law) (Al-Jazîrî, etc, 1998: I, 51-52; Şahin, 2002: 51-52).

Shi'a scholars give weight to this phrase since they think that it represents their consideration of Ali and conveys it to the whole world. They are readily prone to express their commitment to Ali in adhan as the most latent symbol of Islam. This phrase can also be seen as a reflection of Sunni-Shi'a controversy throughout the history of Islam. In other words, one can contend that Shi'a Muslims felt compelled to put their understanding of Islam out open as they were unable to get Sunni Muslims agree. Consequently, the phrase can also be considered as a means beneficial to Shi'a Muslims trying to find a common symbol and reflect their differences in understanding of Islam.

4. Saying *salah* (praise) for the Prophet: For a considerably long time, the reciters of adhan have been saying *salah* for the Prophet right after adhan in the various regions of the Muslim world. That amounted to a custom and still goes on in some Islamic regions. According to the sources at hand, after finishing adhan by saying 'Lâ ilâhe illâ'llâh,' whereas some reciters say 'Va sallâ'llâhu alâ seyyidinâ Muhammedin ve alâ âlihi ve sahbihi ve sellem' (Praise be for the Prophet, his companions and his posterity) some others say 'As-Salâtu va's-salâmu alayka yâ avvala halki'llâhi ve hâteme rusulillâhi ve sallâ'llâhu aleyka ve'l-hamdu lillâhi Rabbi'l-âlemîn' (Praise and greeting be for you, O the Prophet, the first one who God created and the last one of his messengers and praise be onto you and onto God the Lord of the worlds) (Udra, 1994: 42). It has also been

recorded that some of the reciters say 'Va radiyallâhu tabâraka ve taâlâ anke yâ Shayhe'l-Arab' (And God Almighty be consent with you, master of Arabs) (Al-Kûsî, 1987: 302). According to Ibn Hacer Al-Haytemî (d. 974/1566), the habit to say *salah* after adhan for the Prophet was started by Salahuddin Ayyûbî. According to his account, in other words, saying *salah* for the Prophet after adhan was implemented through his dictate in Egypt and in some regions around Egypt as well: There was a king who ruled in those regions and, after his decline, his sister ordered the reciters of adhan to say 'As-Salâmu alâ'l-Imâm at-Tâhir' (Greeting be onto the fair Imam) after adhan five times a day for her son who replaced the king. And they did likewise. Then the habit to say praise for the caliphates came about over time. And this habit went on till the time of Salahuddin Ayyûbî. Salahuddin removed all these praises except that he wanted the reciters to say *salah* for the Prophet. And from then on, saying *salah* for the Prophet after the *adhan*s of praying times except after that of morning, evening and the prayer of Friday became a habit and still continues today in some regions in the Muslim world. Moreover, in some regions, saying *salah* for the Prophet is also being performed after the adhan of morning prayer and before that of Friday. After the adhan of evening time, saying *salah* is not performed because of the fact that evening prayer should be performed quickly. Al-Haytamî, in the light of this information that he gave, even though he stated that he liked and approved of what Salahuddin Ayyûbî did, said the following: "Our great scholars and the others issued *fatwa* that what the reciters of adhan had been doing as to saying *salah* for the Prophet after adhan was innovation (bid'a) and that what was essential in this case is the form of adhan as recited at the time of the Prophet." (Al-Haytamî, I, 131). Lastly, Ashraf Udra, an Arab scholar of modern times, having evaluated the case, stated that such additions as saying praise for the Prophet is not genuine and thus not valid (Udra, 1994: 43). Similarly, having stated that the scholars of Al-Azhar, an Islamic theology school in Egypt with widespread approval in the Muslim world, found this addition as good (in accordance with the principle of *istihsan*), Al- Kûsî stated that this addition is an unwanted innovation (*bid'a*) and thus deviation and that it was not conveyed to us in any legitimate way (Al-Kûsî, 1987: 298, 302).

To give a quick account concerning the case we mentioned above, we believe that adhan, completely as a religious symbol, was used for a political end partly or otherwise. In other words, that the political power wants the reciters of adhan to include in it an utterance containing greeting and commitment and loyalty towards the new king is a

completely politically-driven act, i.e., the abuse of a religious symbol for political ends. The psychological expectation from this abuse is clear: saying an utterance containing commitment and loyalty to the king after every adhan as if it is a genuine part of it might generate a political effect on people and helps intimidate them as well. Furthermore, the mention of a king in adhan being a powerful symbol of religion helps to sanctify that king. Consequently, as loyalty towards the king gains a religious aspect, going against his will, e.g., dissent against his government, implies a religious deviation or simply heresy. On the other hand, such a political endeavor might even end up in a claim to be divine for the ones who hold the political power. It is worth recalling that according to the Quranic account, the rulers of ancient Egypt (pharaohs) wanted their subjects to say "in the name of Pharaoh" (Al-Shuara, 26/44). Before everything they proceeded to do for the purpose of being perceived by their people as gods. In short, in such endeavors as involving the names of those holding political power in religious symbols etc., there is both political abuse and the risk of deification involved.

It is of course impossible to approve such endeavors. If the utterance 'greeting be onto the king' had become a habit and carried on, it would have turned in time into some utterances implying deifications. Therefore, one can contend that Salahuddin Ayyûbî prevented this from coming about by issuing a ban about those additions to adhan.

Ayyubi served a great purpose by removing those utterances involving greetings for the kings from adhan. However, he also started an innovation (*bid'a*) by replacing them with the ones involving *salah* for the Prophet. Ayyûbî's attitude can certainly be seen as an expression of his affection towards the Prophet. Nevertheless, in accordance with what Al-Haytamî stated, we believe that adding any utterance to adhan without depending on the consent of the Prophet is innovation (*bid'a*) and that adhan should be recited as it was recited at the time of the Prophet (Al-Jabrîn, 30, 46).

At this point, it should be noted that some of the religious symbols and concepts are still being abused for the purpose of attaining political or simply materialistic benefits. We believe that every person and institution for that matter should be really careful about this abuse. Otherwise, religious symbols and concepts becoming only ordinary signs will lose exaltedness and their behavior-changing impact on people.

5. Saying 'sayyidena' (our master) in adhan: In some regions of the Islamic world, the reciters add to both adhan and iqame the word 'sayyidena' meaning 'our master' by saying 'Ashadu anna sayyidena Muhammadan rasûlullah.' Ibn Hajar said that "this is not acceptable either." (Udra, 1994: 44). Looking into the case, Al-Kûsî stated the following: "One should know that adding the words 'sayyidena' and 'habîbî' (our beloved) to adhan is *bid'a* and actually stems from ignorance." (Al-Kûsî, 1987: 296). We contend that there is no doubt that those who do this have sincerity and good will. In other words, we think that those who said 'sayyidena' right before the name of the Prophet is recited in adhan must have said it because of their love and loyalty for the Prophet. However, like many of our scholars did not approve it, we do not find it as appropriate. We conclude that, however much they do it with good intention, it is not appropriate to add something to adhan other than the part added at the time of the Prophet going through his own consent.

III. Reasons behind the Additions to Adhan

Above, we have looked into the utterances added to adhan at different times in Islamic history. Now we would like to look shortly into the possible reasons why people needed to do that. Since it is recited five times a day and with a loud voice, adhan holds more importance than many other Islamic symbols. For this reason, one can contend that it got exposed to interferences parallel to its importance. Adhan comes first amongst the easiest and simplest ways of announcing an understanding a belief or a thought to the majority of people in the history of Islam. For this reason, those who appertain to Shi'ism chosen adhan to announce their understanding about the status of Ali and their understanding about his superiority to the majority of people: they chosen to add adhan the utterance 'Ashadu anna Aliyyan wasiyyullah' (I bear witness that Ali is the viceregent of God). By doing this, they wanted both to consolidate the commitment of Shia people and to convey their understanding to people of other denominations of Islam. Furthermore, one can contend that some executive people throughout Islamic history used adhan as a cover-up for their 'lack of praying' and added the utterance 'Hayye alâ hayri'l-amal' (Hasten to the best practice) to adhan. Those who added the word 'sayyidena' to adhan right before the mention of the Prophet must have done this out of their commitment and affection towards him. Saying *salah* for the Prophet at the end of adhan must have come about for the same reason. In fact, one can even say that the last two additions we have just

mentioned above might have served as a retaliation against what Shi'ism did with adhan.

IV. The Position of Scholars Concerning the Additions to Adhan

The Sunni scholars of the religion of Islam concluded that it is unacceptable and religiously illegitimate to add any utterance to adhan except 'As-Salatu hayrun mina'n-navm.' Since adhan is considered as worship, to give it a new form that was simply not the one it gained at the time of the Prophet, to add someting to it, or to take something off of it is not right and acceptable (Udra, 1994: 46-47). However, some Hanafi scholars, among whom Imam Abû Yusuf being the most noteworthy, found it appropriate to say some words between adhan and iqame, for the purpose of attracting the attention of Muslims immersed in daily life, which can be considered in the category of helping each other in benevolence and *taqwa* (godliness) (Al-Serahsî, 1982: I, 130-131; Al-Kâsânî, 1982: I, 148-149). As a matter of fact, as we mentioned above, in the *tabiîn* generation (the first generation after that of the companions of the Prophet) the utterance 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm' or such utterances as 'Hayye ale's-salâh' and 'Hayye ale'l-falâh' were reported to be recited one more time between adhan and iqame and Hanafi scholars found this practice as appropriate and fine (Al-Serahsî, 1982: I, 130-131; Al-Kâsânî, 1982: I, 148-149). One should notice that rather than being additions to adhan, these utterances being practiced between adhan and iqame were just merely some utterances not being considered as genuine pieces of adhan and through which to remind Muslims of *taqwa*. Therefore, they may not be seen as inappropriate by the scholars. However, it is impossible to find appropriate the utterances recited among the genuine utterances of adhan or right after them as if they are authentic parts of adhan. No matter what purpose it contains and what intention it implies, to accept an additional utterance in adhan might pave the way later for the new additions. Once it is okayed, the form of adhan as we know it might turn into a completely different one. It is imperative to consider adhan as a symbol of Muslims' collective consciousness. One cannot oversee the fact that adding something to adhan might be harmful to that collective consciousness. Indifference in this regard might end up in unwanted and unlikeable results later. That some scholars of various Islamic sects saw adhan merely as announcement and thus authorized its

being recited in languages other than Arabic[10] possibly led to its being recited with Turkish words in Turkey. As a matter of fact, in accordance with the new approach celebrated in the Turkish Republic which was established right after the decline of the Ottoman Empire, a decision to perform prayers in Turkish including adhan was issued in 1932 and accordingly adhan was recited in the minarets of mosques in Turkey for 18 years. Actually, one can contend, this implementation stemmed from not seeing it as one of the most important images residing in Muslims' consciousness and thus not being sensitive enough about it.

Conclusion

In this article, we have taken up one of the most important symbols of Islam, adhan, as to how it emerged in the first place and how it was exposed to some changes throughout Islamic history. It has been understood that adhan came about because of the necessity of calling people to Islamic prayer, which is supposed to be done five times a day. It was also accepted that adhan was first affirmed by the Prophet through the visions that some of his companions saw in their dreams. Even though the original version of adhan was affirmed by the Prophet himself, at times in Islamic history, it was exposed to some changes. However, especially Sunni scholars of Islam stated that no additional utterance is religiously legitimate and thus acceptable except the one that reads 'As-Salâtu hayrun mine'n-navm.' Adhan is recited today as it was recited at the time of the Prophet in all of the Muslim countries and regions except Iran and some regions where Shi'ism is dominant. In countries such as Jordan and some areas in Turkey, there is the practice of saying *salah* (praise) for the Prophet. We believe that, like the other utterances added to adhan throughout Islamic history, this innocent practice ought to be dropped as well since it goes against the principle of unity in adhan in the whole Muslim world and also might generate some other –more 'risky' or unacceptable– discrepancies in adhan over time. As a matter of fact, it is unfortunate that there are a lot of controversies among Muslim societies today. Although there are valuable endeavors to remove these controversies, the very much desired success in this regard has yet to

10 For further information, see: Aydar, H. & Atalay, M. (2006). "The Issue of Chanting The Adhan in Languages Other Than Arabic and Related Social Reactions Against it in Turkey," in *İstanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Issue: 13, 45-63.

come. It is more unfortunate that, as one of the most apparent symbols of Islam, adhan is also a subject of controversy, which might generate some more controversies in future. For this reason, we believe that it ought to be recited just like it was recited at the time of the Prophet (pbuh), free of any additional utterances. And this is inevitably necessary for the purpose of unity in the whole Muslim world.

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FROM *BIDʿA* TO *SUNNA*: THE *WILĀYA* OF ʿALĪ IN THE SHĪʿĪ *ADHĀN*

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Although the *wilāya* of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—the attestation of his spiritual and temporal authority—has always been professed by the Shīʿa and has appeared in their ritual and other practices (such as coinage) in various forms, its inclusion in the *adhān* (call to prayer) was once generally rejected by Shīʿī scholars. It is now, however, a distinctive feature of the *adhān* in use among the Twelver Shīʿa. This paper traces and explains how this change came about and how it was eventually justified by the leading scholarly authorities of the community, especially from the Safavid era and later.

A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF THE *adhān* (call to prayer) as recited by Twelver Shīʿīs is the inclusion of the *wilāya* (spiritual and temporal authority) of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Thus, after reciting the *shahāda* (bearing witness to the unity of one God and the prophecy of Muḥammad) the *muʾadhdhin* (caller to prayer) will normally state "*Ashhadu anna ʿAliyyan waliyuʾllāh*" (I bear witness that ʿAlī is the friend of God). In the minds of many Twelver Shīʿīs, this popular practice has become an important component of the *adhān*. However, the *wilāya* was not recited in the *adhān* at the time of the Prophet or during the lives of any of the Shīʿī imams.[1] In this paper, I trace its provenance and evolution. Initially, I examine the pronouncements of early Shīʿī jurists on this issue and compare and contrast their views with the verdicts of later authors. The judgment of the later jurists, moreover, contrasts starkly with the rulings of their predecessors. A need to assert and propagate the Shīʿī identity in terms of a nascent political state led eventually to the inclusion of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. At that point the Shīʿī jurists resorted to various forms of hermeneutics to vindicate such a practice.

The earliest Shīʿī juridical work extant is al-Kulaynī's (d. 329/941) *Furūʿ al-kāfī*. Although in this work al-Kulaynī examines various segments of the *adhān*, he does not discuss or even mention the *wilāya* of ʿAlī as a part of it at all.[2] The first scholar to take up the *wilāya* in the *adhān* was al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991). After reviewing the different parts of the *adhān* in his *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, he states:

> This is the correct *adhān*; nothing is to be added or subtracted from it. The Mufawwiḍa,[3] may God curse them, have fabricated traditions and have added to the *adhān* "Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad are the best of mankind," [reciting it] twice. In some of their traditions, after uttering "I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh," [they add] "I bear witness that ʿAlī is the *walī* (friend) of God" twice. Among them there are others who narrate instead of this "I bear witness that ʿAlī is the true Commander of the Faithful" twice. There is no doubt that ʿAlī is the friend of God and that he is the true

[1] The Shīʿī *adhān* is also distinguished from its Sunnī counterpart by the inclusion of "*ḥayya ʿalā khayriʾl-ʿamal*" (hasten to the best of deeds), but a discussion of the genesis of this practice is beyond the scope of this paper.

[2] Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *Furūʿ al-kāfī*, 6 vols. (Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyya, 1391/1971), 3: 302.

[3] The term Mufawwiḍa refers to those who espoused the doctrine of *tafwīḍ* (delegation), i.e., the belief that after creation, God delegated His powers over all matters pertaining to creation, provision for His creatures, and worldly affairs to the Prophet and the imams. That this belief had permeated the Shīʿī ranks can be discerned from several traditions in Shīʿī *ḥadīth* literature. See Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-kāfī*, 4 vols. (Tehran, n.d.), 2: 2–5, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣāʾir al-darajāt fī faḍāʾil Āl Muḥammad* (Qum: Maktaba Ayatullāh al-Marʿashi al-Najafi, 1404/1983), 378–79, where several traditions justify the belief in *tafwīḍ*. Subsequent Shīʿī theologians distanced themselves from this doctrine. See al-Ṣadūq, *Risālat al-iʿtiqādāt* (A Shīʿite Creed), tr. A. Fyzee (Calcutta: Oxford Univ. Press, 1361/1942), 100–101; Mufīd, *Awāʾil al-maqālāt* (Qum: Maktaba al-Dawari, 1370/1950), 240–41. The origins and doctrines of the Mufawwiḍa are also discussed by H. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shīʿite Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1993), ch. 2.

> Commander of the Faithful and that Muḥammad and his family, peace be upon them, are the best of [God's] creatures. However, that is not [part] of the original *adhān*. I have mentioned this so that those who have been accused of concocting [the doctrine of] *tafwīḍ* and have insinuated themselves in our ranks should become known.[4]

It is clear that al-Ṣadūq regards those reciting the *wilāya* as belonging to the Mufawwiḍa, which is, for him, an extremist group, as he unequivocally curses and condemns them for their actions. For al-Ṣadūq, the recitation of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* is one of the distinguishing marks of the Mufawwiḍa. Thus the Mufawwiḍa are to be differentiated from the mainstream Twelver Shīᶜīs by this practice.

Many tenth- and eleventh-century jurists did not consider it important to discuss the issue of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. Thus, where and when the *adhān* is discussed in some detail, there is no mention of the *wilāya*, as, for example, in al-Mufīd's (d. 413/1022) *Muqniᶜa*,[5] or in the *Intiṣār* of Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044).[6] In his *Tahdhīb*, Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) refers to various *ḥadīth*s reporting different juridical rulings, but in spite of this, he cites not a single *ḥadīth* indicating the *wilāya* of ᶜAlī in the *adhān*. This is surprising in view of the fact that, in his other works (to be discussed presently), Ṭūsī admits that odd and isolated (*shādhdh*) reports concerning the *wilāya* of ᶜAlī in the *adhān* have been related.[7] But, in all probability, the traditions about the *wilāya* were not available to him.[8] Alternatively, because these reports were rare, Ṭūsī did not deem them veracious and worthy of consideration.[9] In his *Nihāya*, Ṭūsī even states that one who utters the *wilāya* is in error (*mukhṭiʾ*).[10] However, in his *Mabsūṭ*, he says simply:

> As for uttering "ᶜAlī is the Commander of the Faithful and the family of Muḥammad is the best of mankind" in accord with what has been narrated in isolated reports, this is not to be acted upon [*fa-laysa bi maᶜmūl ᶜalayhi*] in the *adhān*. But, if a person recites it, he does not commit a sin for that reason (*lam yaʾtham bihi*). However, it is not amongst the *faḍila* (recommended parts) of the *adhān* nor does it [the *wilāya*] make it [the *adhān*] more complete.[11]

The foregoing evidence reveals fairly clearly that scholars such as al-Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī prohibited including the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. It is to be remembered also that these scholars were living under the aegis of Buyid rulers (334–447/945–1055) who were favorably disposed towards the Shīᶜīs. Thus, although they were neither politically oppressed nor constrained in their writings, Shīᶜī jurists of the tenth and eleventh centuries either prohibited outright or strongly discouraged the utterance of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. There is no evidence to suggest, moreover, that their ruling on this issue was based on *taqiyya* (dissimulation).

THE ILKHĀNID EPOCH IN SHĪᶜĪ JURISPRUDENCE

After the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols in 656/1258, the center of Shīᶜī studies moved from Baghdad to Ḥilla. Due mainly to the presence of the Shīᶜī philosopher and theologian Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), an influential counselor to the Mongol king Hulegu, Ḥilla was spared Mongol destruction. Therefore, during the Ilkhānid era (656–754/1258–1353), the Shīᶜī *ᶜulamāʾ* continued to enjoy good relations with the ruler. As an example, ᶜAllāma Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) and his son were often invited to the court of Öljeitū (d. 712/1316).[12] Reportedly, he was a witness to the Sultan's conversion to Twelver Shīᶜīsm.[13] But, again, despite the period of relative peace

[4] Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī ibn Babawayh al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqih*, 4 vols. (Qum: Imam al-Mahdi, 1404/1983), 1: 188.

[5] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuᶜmān al-Mufīd, *al-Muqniᶜa*, 2nd ed. (Qum: Mu'assas al-Nashr al-Islami, 1411/1990), 100.

[6] ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Intiṣār* (Najaf: Manshurat al-Haydariyya, 1391/1971), 39.

[7] He does not cite these in his *al-Khilāf* either. See Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-khilāf*, 3 vols. (Qum: Maktaba Ismaᶜiliyan, n.d.), 1: 83.

[8] There is no trace of the *wilāya* traditions in any of the extant Shīᶜī juridical manuals. They are only casually referred to by early authors like al-Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī.

[9] The same can also be stated for the absence of *wilāya* traditions in his *al-Istibsār*. See Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ṭūsī, *al-Istibsār fī mā ikhtalafa min al-akhbār*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Adwa', 1406/1985), 1: 299, 305.

[10] Ṭūsī, *al-Nihāya fī mujarrad al-fiqh wa'l-fatāwā* (Qum: Quds Muḥammadi, n.d.), 69.

[11] Ṭūsī, *al-Mabsūṭ fī fiqh al-Imāmiyya*, 8 vols. (Tehran: al-Matbaᶜa al-Haydariyya, 1387/1967), 1: 99.

[12] Said Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shiᶜite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986), 29. See also p. 58 for other examples of the cordial relations between the Shīᶜī jurists and the Ilkhānid kings.

[13] S. H. M. Jafrī, "al-Ḥillī," in *EI²*.

between Shīᶜī and Sunnī communities, there was no change in the stance of Shīᶜī scholars on the question of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*.

Although the juridical works of scholars in that period, such as Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Idrīs (d. 598/1201), contain detailed discussions of the *adhān* and *iqāma*,[14] the question of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* is never even alluded to. It is to be further noted that although Ibn Idrīs appends a separate section on the recommended parts (*faḍāʾil*) of the *adhān*, contrary to the practice of later scholars, he does not mention the *wilāya* in this section either.[15]

Other scholars of Ḥilla were more explicit in their rejection of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. After enumerating segments of the *adhān* in his *Muᶜtabar*, Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277) declares: "Anything added to this is *bidᶜa*."[16] His contemporary al-Hadhalī (d. 690/1291) states in his *al-Jāmiᶜ liʾl-sharāʾiᶜ* that, although the *wilāya* has been narrated in rare traditions, it is not to be practiced as a part of the *adhān*.[17]

Although they were living under favorable political conditions, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century jurists concurred with their predecessors on the issue. Thus the aforementioned ᶜAllāma al-Ḥillī explicitly forbids the recitation of the *wilāya* in his *Nihāyat al-aḥkām*, stating that it is not permissible to recite it since there was no ruling for it in the *sharīᶜa* (*li-ᶜadami mashrūᶜiyyatihi*).[18]

Fourteenth-century Shīᶜī scholars based in Jabal ᶜĀmil followed the example of their predecessors in prohibiting the utterance of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. In his *al-Lumᶜa al-dimashqiyya*, Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn (d. 786/1384), also called Shahīd al-Awwal (Shahīd I), definitively forbids the utterance of the *wilāya*, even though, he admits, it is in fact a reality (*wa in kāna al-wāqiᶜ kadhālik*).[19] In his *al-Durūs*, Shahīd I further adds that the *wilāya* is a credal issue, and is not a part of the *adhān*.[20] He repeats al-Ṣadūq's proscription, saying that the *wilāya* in the *adhān* is a concoction of the Mufawwiḍa. As a matter of fact, Shahīd I is consistent in prohibiting the recitation of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* in all four of his major juridical works (*al-Lumᶜa*, *al-Dhikrā*, *al-Bayān*, and *al-Durūs*).

The trend amongst the early jurists of either prohibiting or discouraging the pronunciation of the *wilāya* is confirmed by another scholar of Jabal ᶜĀmil, Zayn al-Dīn b. ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad al-Shāmī (Shahīd II) (d. 966/1558). In his *Rawḍa al-jinān* he unequivocally affirms that the insertion of the *wilāya* or anything of that nature in the *adhān* is *bidᶜa* (innovation) and that the reports about it have been fabricated. The issue at stake, Shahīd II reminds us, is not whether they (the family of the Prophet) are the best of creatures or not. Rather, the question is whether the *wilāya* can be inserted in an act of worship which has been itself divinely ordained. Not every correct article of belief is worthy of insertion in the acts of worship (*ᶜibādāt*) that have been legislated by the Lawgiver.[21] In his *al-Masālik*, Shahīd II maintains further that it is forbidden (*ḥarām*) to add anything to the *adhān*.[22]

In his commentary (*sharḥ*) on the *Lumᶜa*, the same Shahīd II maintains that the *wilāya* pertains to a matter of belief. It is not to be counted a part of the *adhān*. He restates his previous assertion that inserting the *wilāya* in the *adhān* is tantamount to *bidᶜa*. It is as if one were to

[14] The *iqāma* is the second call to prayer which is pronounced before each of the prescribed daily prayers. On the differences between the *adhān* and *iqāma*, see T. Juynboll, "Ikāma," in *EI*².

[15] See ᶜAlī Asghar al-Mawārid, *Silsila al-yanābiᶜ al-fiqhiyya*, 25 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Turath/al-Dar al-Islamiyya, 1410/1990), 4: 660—citing Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*. In an article on the *wilāya* in the *adhān*, Riḍa Ustādī examines the rulings on the *wilāya* by diverse Shīᶜī jurists from the time of al-Ṣadūq to the present. I am indebted to Sayyid Muḥammad Rizvi of Toronto for providing me with a copy if this article. Although quite useful for the purposes of this study, Ustādī's article, which has the title "*Kalimāt al-aᶜlām ḥawl jawāz al-shahāda biʾl-wilāya*," bears no indication of where or when it was published and despite some effort, I have not been able to locate its source.

[16] *Bidᶜa* refers to an innovation, whether in belief or practice, for which no precedent was set at the time of the Prophet. Later, to accommodate changing circumstances, a distinction was made between good (hence acceptable) and bad *bidᶜa*. See J. Robson, "Bidᶜa," in *EI*².

[17] As cited in al-Mawārid, *Silsila*, 4: 867.

[18] al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ᶜAlī al-Ḥillī, *Nihāya al-aḥkām fi maᶜrifa al-aḥkām*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Qum: Muʾassa Ismaᶜiliyan, 1410/1990), 1: 412. Al-Ḥillī also prohibits the recitation of the *wilāya* in his *al-Muntaha* and *al-Tadhkira*. See Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 384–85. There is no mention of the *wilāya* in al-Ḥillī's *Sharāʾiᶜī*. See *Sharāʾiᶜī al-Islam fi masāʾil al-ḥalāl waʾl-ḥarām*, 4 vols. (Najaf: al-Adab, 1389/1969), 1: 75–76.

[19] Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Makkī al-ᶜĀmilī, *al-Lumᶜa al-dimashqiyya*, 2nd ed., 10 vols. (Isfahan: Maktaba al-Imam Amir al-Muʾminin, 1398/1977), 1: 573.

[20] As cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 385.

[21] Shahīd II, *Rawḍa al-jinān fi sharḥ irshād al-adhhān* (n.p., 1886), 1: 242.

[22] As cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 385.

add a *rakᶜa* (unit of prayer) or the *tashahhud* (the *shahāda*) in the prayer.[23]

Mulla Aḥmad al-Ardabīlī (d. 993/1585) (also called Muqaddas) initially quotes al-Ṣadūq's proscription against reciting the *wilāya* and agrees with him. Al-Ardabīlī further states that pronouncing the *wilāya* is tantamount to following the precedence set by ᶜUmar, who had altered the *adhān* that is recited in the morning by inserting the *tathwīb* ("prayer is better than sleep"). Since the Shīᶜīs condemn ᶜUmar for adding an extraneous element to the *adhān*, it is improper for them to emulate such an act.[24] It is to be noted, however, that al-Ardabīlī permits the sending of blessings (*ṣalawāt*) on the Prophet and his family when his name is mentioned in the *adhān*. This, explains al-Ardabīlī, is because of the narration of general traditions (*ᶜumūm al-akhbār*) recommending this act. Significantly, he does not cite here the tradition from Ṭabarsī's (d. 588/1192) *al-Iḥtijāj* which, as we shall see, was used by later jurists to argue in favor of pronouncing the *wilāya* in the *adhān*.

The preceding discussion indicates that there was a clear consensus reached by the early Shīᶜī jurists on either prohibiting or discouraging the utterance of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. Those reciting the *wilāya* were marginalized and seen by jurists such as al-Ṣadūq, ᶜAllāma al-Ḥillī and al-Ardabīlī as extremists. No jurist in the pre-Safavid era, whether living in Baghdad, Ḥilla, or Jabal ᶜĀmil, encouraged the practice. Indeed, no Shīᶜī jurist even stated that, provided it was not intended to be a part of the *adhān*, the *wilāya* may be recited—a distinction that was to be drawn by subsequent jurists. In all probability, the reason why the pre-Safavid jurists prohibited the recitation of the *wilāya* was that, living with the vicissitudes of the Sunnī milieu, they wanted to distance themselves from all practices linked to the extremists. This observation can be corroborated from the fact that, in prohibiting the *wilāya*, they often quoted al-Ṣadūq's statement attributing this practice to the Mufawwiḍa. Furthermore, the jurists did not sanction the practice and they did not consider *ḥadīth* reports about it to be trustworthy. But, given the overall prohibition against reciting the *wilāya* in the *adhān*, when then did the practice begin among the general Shīᶜī populace? How was it to be vindicated? It is to these questions that I now turn.

[23] See Shahīd II, *Sharḥ al-lumᶜa*, 1: 573.

[24] al-Muqaddas al-Ardabīlī, *Majmaᶜ al-fā'ida wa'l burhān fī sharḥ irshād al-adhhān* (Qum: Jami'a al-Mudarrisin, 1403/1982), 2: 181.

THE *WILĀYA* IN THE *ADHĀN* IN THE SAFAVID ERA (907–1201/1501–1786)

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the gradual establishment and eventual triumph of Shīᶜism under the Safavid rulers of Iran. As Scarcia-Amoretti has shown, even before the establishment of the Safavid dynasty, the atmosphere of relative religious eclecticism in Iran had engendered a devotion to ᶜAlī, in particular, and to the household of the Prophet, in general.[25] In 907/1501, Shāh Ismāᶜīl (d. 930/1524), the first Safavid ruler, used this prevailing pro-ᶜAlī sentiment to declare Twelver Shīᶜism the official religion of the state.[26] The replacement of Sunnīsm by Shīᶜism required a rigorous policy of religious conversion that would help transform Shīᶜism from a sectarian into a national religion. Propagation of the Shīᶜī faith also necessitated the imposition of measures that would enhance doctrinal and liturgical uniformity. Thus Shāh Ismāᶜīl sought different ways to encourage public expression of Islam in a Shīᶜi form. He had the names of the twelve imams mentioned in the sermons and issued a commandment stating that the first three caliphs were to be publicly cursed. Whoever refused to do so was to be killed.[27] He also issued a decree stating that the *wilāya* was to be mentioned in the *adhān*.[28] It was therefore only in this era that the *wilāya* in the *adhān* was first promulgated and practiced at the popular level with official sanction. The insertion of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* was thus deeply intertwined with the Safavid rulers' attempts at implanting a deeper commitment to Shīᶜism amongst the Iranian masses.

It is to be remembered that before the advent of the Safavids, Shīᶜism was largely nonexistent in Iran.[29] But,

[25] Said Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, 106.

[26] Various reasons have been offered for the imposition of Shīᶜism as the state religion. According to Lambton, the Safavids chose Shīᶜism to differentiate their domains from the Sunnī Ottoman empire and to create a sense of unity amongst their subjects. It also enabled the Safavids to exist as a separate entity resisting, thereby, absorption into the Ottoman empire. Cited in R. Savory, *Studies on the History of Ṣafavid Iran* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), sec. III, 84; XII, 20.

[27] H. Rumlu, *Ahsan Tavarikh* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1350/1931), 61. See also A. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam: An Introduction to the study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), 264; Savory, *Studies*, 64.

[28] Rumlu, *Ahsan*, 61.

[29] Rumlu, *Ahsan*, 61.

thereafter, popular practices related to Shīᶜīm were accepted by the masses even if they were not previously sanctioned by the jurists. Various other devices were used to enforce and propagate the now officially proclaimed Shīᶜīsm, among them public expression of grief during the first twelve days of *Muḥarram* to mark the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī (d. 61/680) at Kerbala.[30]

By Shāh Ṭahmāsp's time (931–84/1524–76), there were acts of self mortification and canonical cursing (*laᶜn*) of the first three caliphs on a massive scale.[31] In fact, in 917 A.H. the Shīᶜī jurist ᶜAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Karakī (d. 937 or 940) wrote a tract on the incumbency of cursing the caliphs.[32] Another way to promulgate Shīᶜīsm was to encourage the visitation of the shrines of the imams or their descendants (*imām-zādeh*).[33] One more example was the pronunciation of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*, which was thus clearly one means of popularizing Shīᶜīsm amongst the laity. Gradually, these public rituals became the focus of socio-religious life in Persia and became deeply embedded in the minds of the masses.

The imposition of Shīᶜīsm on a predominantly Sunnī community was bound to meet with opposition, especially from the *ᶜulamāᵓ*. Many Sunnī *ᶜulamāᵓ* were put to death; many others fled to areas where Sunnīsm still prevailed.[34] They were replaced by Shīᶜī scholars who were imported into Safavid territory, mainly from Jabal ᶜĀmil. The attitude of these incoming Shīᶜī jurists towards public processions and dramas appears to have been dictated by pragmatism. As long as it did not directly contravene normative doctrine, popular culture was accepted. Tolerance towards acts of popular devotion was the price the *ᶜulamāᵓ* paid for mass conversion to Shīᶜīsm. In all probability, since the *wilāya* in the *adhān* did not contradict the sense of Shīᶜī doctrine and it enhanced the propagation of Shīᶜīsm at the popular level, the jurists did not feel the need to voice an objection to it. Moreover, as they had recently migrated to Iran and were largely patronized by the kings, the Shīᶜī *ᶜulamāᵓ* were hardly in a position to challenge the policies of the Safavid rulers.[35]

The Shīᶜī affiliations of the nascent state needed social expression. One way of fostering this was through the *adhān*. Henceforth, the role of the *adhān* was not to be confined to calling the faithful to prayer, but rather, it was to be used to avow the Shīᶜī identity of the Safavid state. Along with other measures undertaken by the state, the *adhān* was used to propagate Shīᶜīsm at a popular level. The *adhān* was also used for polemical purposes i.e., to remind the Shīᶜīs of their allegiance to ᶜAlī and his immediate succession to Muḥammad. Due to its popular appeal, Shīᶜī jurists refrained from denouncing the practice in public. By their silence the jurists in effect approved and accepted popular practice.[36]

A statement made by Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī I (d. 1070/1659), in his Persian commentary on al-Ṣadūq's *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, further indicates why the Shīᶜī jurists were now willing to allow the recitation of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* and thus reverse the rulings of earlier jurists. He states that in most parts of the country, the *wilāya* was recited in the *adhān*. When people omitted the *wilāya*, they were accused of being Sunnīs. Ironically, in this tract, Majlisī I invokes the doctrine of dissimulation (*taqiyya*—what I call inverse *taqiyya*) to recite the *wilāya*. Stated differently, *taqiyya* was used to assert rather than to hide Shīᶜī identity, that is, the *wilāya* was to be recited so as to avert accusations of being affiliated to the Sunnīs. Majlisī I goes on to cite the example

[30] Under Shāh ᶜAbbās I (1587–1629), the Muharram ceremonies, which had been limited to their devotional and folkloric aspects, became a great festival, both civil and religious. See Jean Calmard, "Shīᶜī Rituals and Power, II: The Consolidation of Safavid Shīᶜīsm: Folklore and Popular Religion," in *Safavid Persia*, ed. C. Melville (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996), 143.

[31] Calmard, "Shīᶜī Rituals," 143.

[32] Arjomand, *Shadow*, 165, citing Sayyid ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Khātūnābādī, *Vaqāyiᶜ al-sanīn va'l-aᶜvam* (Tehran: Islamiyya, 1352/1973).

[33] Arjomand, *Shadow*, 165.

[34] R. Savory, "Safavid Persia," in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Holt, Lambton, and Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), 398; see also R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), 29.

[35] N. Keddie, "The Roots of the *ᶜUlamā*'s Power in Modern Iran," *Studia Islamica* 29 (1969): 42.

[36] The new polemical role envisaged for the *adhān* by the Safavids is further elucidated by a twentieth-century scholar, Aḥmad Zanjānī, in his "*Khayr al-umūr*." In it he narrates how Muᶜāwiya stirred the feelings of the masses by wearing the blood-stained shirt of ᶜUthmān and by commanding his governors to curse ᶜAlī from the pulpits. Zanjānī adds that when the Shīᶜīs came to power in Iran, the monarch—although he does not identify him, Zanjānī is undoubtedly referring to Shāh Ismāᶜīl—decided to mention the *wilāya* five times every day in order to repudiate the adversaries. He also declared that in the sermons, after the name of God and the Prophet, greetings and blessings be invoked on ᶜAlī and his infallible descendants. The *wilāya*, according to Zanjājnī, was a response to the curses invoked on ᶜAlī in Muᶜāwiya's time. However, this was not done with the intention of it being a part of the *adhān* but, rather, to embellish the *adhān* and to refute the arguments of the adversaries (Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 407).

of his own teacher, Mawlanā ᶜAbd Allāh, who, after much discussion, had decided to stop uttering the *wilāya* in the *adhān*. He adds that his teacher was accused of being a Sunnī. Majlisī then advised his teacher to recite the *wilāya*, to defend himself against accusations of having a Sunnī penchant. This was his practice for as long as he lived.[37]

The popular practice of reciting ᶜAlī's *wilāya* in the *adhān* was sanctioned in the Shīᶜī juridical texts for the first time by Majlisī I in his *Rawḍa al-muttaqīn*. In fact, he explicitly allows and even justifies the practice. Commenting on al-Ṣadūq's statement, he states: "It is difficult to be certain that these traditions [on the *wilāya*] are due to their [the Mufawwiḍa's] fabrications." He further argues in favor of accepting rare *wilāya* traditions by claiming that this genre of traditions may be authentic but not well known. Moreover, he adds,

> just because the Mufawwiḍa or the Sunnīs perform an act does not mean that we can be certain that the truth lies in its contrary or that they [the traditions on the *wilāya*] have been fabricated unless there are [traditions transmitted] from them [the imams] which clearly indicate this. These have not been transmitted [from them]. Moreover, the Shīᶜīs used to perform it in the olden times and still do so. It is also clear that if one were to act upon it [pronouncing the *wilāya*] he would not be a sinner.[38]

Majlisī I was aware that his ruling on the issue was markedly different from the opinions expressed by the jurists. He vindicated this transformation by claiming: "It is possible it was forbidden before [this time] due to *taqiyya* [dissimulation], just as many *aḥādīth* [traditions] urge the omission of *ḥayya ᶜalā khayr al-ᶜamal* [hasten to the best of deeds] from the *adhān* due to *taqiyya*." He further adds:

> It is not clear who al-Ṣadūq meant by the Mufawwiḍa; it seems that anyone who did not accept the *sahw* [acts of inadvertence] of the Prophet was a Mufawwiḍa,[39] or anyone who believed in inserting [anything] in the acts of worship [which are different] from those practiced by the Prophet is a Mufawwiḍa. On this basis, all Shīᶜīs, apart from al-Ṣadūq and his teacher, would be [classified as] Mufawwiḍa.[40]

A close study of *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh* indicates that Majlisī I's contention that al-Ṣadūq had possibly prohibited the *wilāya* due to *taqiyya* cannot be substantiated. As a matter of fact, just before he prohibits the *wilāya* in the *adhān*, al-Ṣadūq poses the question as to whether "*ḥayya ᶜalā khayr al-ᶜamal*" can be omitted from the *adhān*. This, he states, can be done if one has to dissimulate.[41] Al-Ṣadūq clearly delineates parts of the *adhān* which can be omitted or altered when living under conditions of *taqiyya*. The fact that he unequivocally rules that the *wilāya* should not be mentioned at all in the *adhān* and ascribes this practice to the Mufawwiḍa suggests that *taqiyya* was not a factor in his ruling on the issue.

Majlisī I turns the argument on its head. First, he refutes the contention that the paucity of *wilāya* traditions implies they are not authentic. In essence, he refutes the views of jurists like Ṭūsī and Ḥillī, arguing that the fact that traditions about the *wilāya* are sparse does not imply that they are spurious. Having argued the possibility of their veracity, Majlisī I then claims that, according to both al-Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī, traditions allowing the pronouncement of the *wilāya* are available. For this reason, the *wilāya* can be recited, although not as a part of the *adhān*.

Despite Majlisī I's efforts at accommodating the *wilāya* in the *adhān*, his contemporaries did not concur with him. Thus al-Muḥaqqiq al-Sabzawārī (d. 1090/1679) states in *Dhakhīrat al-maᶜād*: "The jurists have clearly stated that it is an innovation (*bidᶜa*) and that inserting it in the *adhān* is dependent on *al-tawqīf al-sharᶜī* [its divine ordainment], a fact which has not been established."[42] Fayḍ al-Kashānī (d. 1091/1680) maintains in his *Mafātīḥ al-sharāᵓiᶜ* that reciting the *wilāya* is an abominable (*makrūh*) act that is contrary to the *sunna*.[43] Vindicating the *wilāya* was clearly more difficult in the juridical texts than in popular practice.

Nevertheless, the argument for the recitation of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* was further enhanced by Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ᶜAllāma) Majlisī (d. 1110/1698). Like his namesake, Majlisī II twists the discussion about the *wilāya* on its head. It is not impossible, he states, that the *wilāya* is among the *mustaḥabb* (recommended) parts of the *adhān*.

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[37] As cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 388.

[38] Cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 387.

[39] On this see al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 1: 234–35. See also the discussion in McDermott, *The Theology of Shaykh al-Mufīd* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1399/1978), 356. Al-Ṣadūq declares those who reject the *sahw* of the Prophet to be amongst the Mufawwiḍa.

[40] Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 387.

[41] al-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 1: 188.

[42] Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 389.

[43] That is, to the actions of the Prophet and his companions. See "sunna," in *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974); Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 389.

This is because Ṭūsī, al-Ḥillī, Shahīd I, and others have testified that rare reports about it have been narrated. By quoting the opinions of preceding scholars, he declares that reports concerning it, although sparse, are available. The very point which al-Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī invoked to prohibit the *wilāya*—reports being rare—is used by Majlisī II, in fact, to permit it.[44]

To further vindicate the inclusion of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*, Majlisī ingeniously divides segments of the *adhān* into obligatory and recommended parts. The *wilāya*, he declares, may be uttered as a recommended part of the *adhān*. By this neat bifurcation, he was able to undermine the objections of those arguing against inserting an extraneous element to an act of worship. He was thus also able finally to accommodate the *wilāya* as a component (albeit only a recommended one) of the *adhān*.[45]

ᶜAllāma Majlisī also introduces a new element into the discussion. Besides citing rational proofs to justify pronouncing the *wilāya,* as a recommended act, he adduces scriptural proof to sanction the practice, a point which was appropriated by most subsequent jurists. Majlisī II quotes a tradition cited in Ṭabarsī's *al-Iḥtijāj*. There Ṭabarsī narrates a tradition from al-Qāsim b. Muᶜāwiya, who is quoted as saying:

> I said to Abū ᶜAbd Allāh [Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq] that they [the Sunnīs] transmit a tradition in their [books on the] *miᶜrāj* [indicating] that when the Prophet was taken on the night ascension he saw writing on the throne which read: "There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God and Abū Bakr is the truthful one." Al-Ṣādiq is reported to have responded: "Glory be to God, they have altered everything, including this?" Al-Qāsim replied: "Yes." Al-Ṣādiq then reportedly said: "When God, the Almighty, most Glorious, created the throne, he wrote on it: "There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Prophet of God and ᶜAlī is the Commander of the faithful."

This long tradition then ends with Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 147/765) telling al-Qāsim that "whenever one of you recites the *shahāda*, he should also say 'ᶜAlī is the Commander of the faithful'."[46]

Since this tradition does not delineate the circumstances under which the *wilāya* is to be pronounced, it is interpreted by Majlisī II to be general, not restrictive in its applicability. Hence the *wilāya* in the *adhān* is construed by him to be subsumed under and even justified by this tradition. Majlisī adds that, if anyone utters the *wilāya* in order to attain *baraka* (blessings) without intending it to be a part of the *adhān*, then he is not a sinner, for the community has allowed any form of speech during the *adhān* and *iqāma*. This, Majlisī adds, is the best supplication and *dhikr* (recollection).[47] Thus what was considered to be *bidᶜa* by the preceding jurists becomes, for Majlisī II and most subsequent Shīᶜī jurists, a *sunna*. But Majlisī II needed scriptural support for his ruling on the *adhān*. This was provided by Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq's *ḥadīth* as found in *al-Iḥtijāj*.

The tradition, which is evidently polemical in nature, is transmitted to refute a Sunnī claim about the *miᶜrāj*. Rather than dealing with the question of the *wilāya* in the *adhān*, it purports to repudiate a Sunnī claim by offering a Shīᶜī version of the same event. That Ṭabarsī's tradition is not germane to the *wilāya* in the *adhān* can be discerned from the fact that, although it was reported by Ṭabarsī in the sixth century (four hundred years before Majlisī II), Shīᶜī scholars prior to Majlisī II did not consider that it provided sufficient proof to permit the recitation of the *wilāya*. In fact, no proponent of the *wilāya* before Majlisī II even referred to it in discussing the *wilāya*. Thus, despite Majlisī's reference to Ṭabarsī's tradition, the fact remains that it did not occur to previous jurists to refer to it, since it did not evidently point to the *wilāya* in the *adhān*.

Moreover, the tradition was not reported by any scholar before Ṭabarsī. As a matter of fact, the latter author does not cite the source of this tradition. Most of the traditions cited in *al-Iḥtijāj* are *mursal*, i.e., they do not have any *isnād* (chain of transmission) appended. In the introduction to his work, Ṭabarsī claims that he did not append chains of transmissions, either because there existed an *ijmāᶜ* (consensus) in reference to narrating most traditions reported in his book, or because the traditions in it agree with reasoning, or because they were well known.[48] However, the tradition of al-Qāsim b. Muᶜāwiya was certainly not known to the likes of al-Ṣadūq or Ṭūsī or scholars before Ṭabarsī since none of them had cited it. Moreover, even though most Shīᶜī *ḥadīth* scholars are

[44] Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār al-jāmiᶜa li-durari akhbār al-aʾimma al-aṭhār*, 110 vols. (Beirut: Ihya' Turath al-Arabi, 1403/1982), 84: 111.

[45] On the distinction between essential and recommended parts of an act, see Muḥammad b. Mulla Ibrāhīm al-Muẓaffar, *Shahāda al-thālitha dar adhān va iqāme* (Qum: Chap Nur, 1978), 2–3.

[46] Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (Mashad: Saᶜid, 1403/1982), 158.

[47] Majlisī, *Biḥār*, 84: 111–12.

[48] Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 14. See also Agha Buzūrg Tihrānī, *al-Dhariᶜa ilā taṣānīf al-shiᶜa*, 29 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Adwa', 1403/1983), 1: 281.

agreed that *mursal* traditions cannot be considered probative, this tradition has been continuously quoted by subsequent Shīᶜī scholars in supporting their own ruling on the *wilāya*.[49] A slight digression is necessary to show how traditions whose authenticity is not established in the sources can be used to rule that acts such as uttering the *wilāya* can be recommended.

THE PRINCIPLE OF LENIENCY IN DEDUCING PROOFS FOR RECOMMENDED ACTS

Based on principles established in *uṣūl al-fiqh*,[50] Shīᶜī jurists often relax the stringent criteria set for accepting traditions in matters pertaining to recommended or abominable acts. Due to the relatively lax conditions involved, this principle is called *qāᵓida al-tasāmuḥ fī adilla al-sunan*. Based on it, jurists have ruled that, in matters pertaining to recommended practices, even if the reliability of a *ḥadīth* cannot be fully ascertained, it may be acted on with the hope that the act will be accepted (*rajāᵓ al-maṭlūbiyya*) and one will be rewarded for it even if, in reality, the tradition is not authentic. Various traditions are cited to vindicate this principle. In one such tradition, Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq is reported to have told his disciple Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī (fl. second century):

> Whoever has received (*man balaghahu*) a [report] from the Prophet, peace be upon him, about the merits of [performing] an act and he acts according to that report, he will be rewarded for it even if the Prophet, peace be upon him, did not state it.[51]

Due to the prefix "whoever has received," this genre of traditions is called *man balaghahu*. In essence, the principle indicates that, in contrast to obligatory acts, a jurist does not need indubitable proofs to rule in favor of performing a recommended act. However, no jurist can rule that the performance of an act is incumbent, based on these kinds of traditions.[52]

By appealing to the rare *wilāya* traditions alluded to by al-Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī and the principle of *al-tasāmuḥ*, most post-Safavid jurists ruled that the *wilāya* can be considered a recommended part of the *adhān*. Thus the faithful are assured of reward for reciting the *wilāya* in the *adhān* even if, in reality, the imams have not actually uttered such traditions.[53] However, as al-Muẓaffar points out, even those jurists who mentioned the *wilāya* traditions about the *adhān* also claimed that these have been fabricated. *Man balaghahu* traditions, argues al-Muẓaffar, do not cover reports known to be fabricated. Thus it is known that the imams did not, in fact, state what is claimed by the report. Only those traditions that might have been uttered by the imams are subsumed under the principle of *al-tasāmuḥ*.[54]

Jurists like Majlisī and those after him were searching for ways to have the *wilāya* inserted in the *adhān*. Thus, although it does not have an *isnād* (chain of transmission) appended, they seized on Ṭabarsī's tradition and, invoking the *tasāmuḥ* principle, ruled that the *wilāya* can be considered to be a recommended part of the *adhān*. Therefore, if the *wilāya* could not be deemed to be an essential part, it could, because of Ṭabarsī's tradition and the principle of *al-tasāmuḥ*, be reckoned to be among the recommended parts of the *adhān*. The post-Majlisī II era shows a clear evolution in the thinking of the Shīᶜī *fuqahāᵓ* on the issue. Whereas Shīᶜī jurists before him were generally agreed on not reciting the *wilāya*, jurists after him were generally agreed (with few exceptions) on its pronouncement. Subsequent *fiqh* works evinced even more arguments to vindicate its insertion in the *adhān*.

Most scholars after Majlisī II followed his line of argument and quote al-Ṣādiq's tradition as cited by Ṭabarsī. For example, in his *Mafātīḥ al-fayḍ*, al-Wahīd al-Bahbahānī (d. 1205/1790) states that to pronounce the *wilāya* with the intention of it being a part of the *adhān* is forbidden, as this is *bidᶜa*. However, to recite it for the sake of receiving blessings is allowed. Just as, after stating "God is great" in the *adhān*, many people state: "the most lofty, sublime" (*jalla jalālah*) and cite other praises of God, and after bearing testimony to Muḥammad's

[49] See Muḥsinī A., *Buḥūth fī ᶜilm al-rijāl* (Qum: 1404/1983), 136; Shahīd II, *Sharḥ al-bidāya fī ᶜilm al-dirāya* (Tehran: Maktab Chehl Sutun, 1402/1982), 140. There are certain conditions when *mursal aḥādith* are acceptable. See the discussion in Shahīd II, *Sharḥ al-bidāya*, 141.

[50] Besides establishing principles for extrapolating juridical rulings, *uṣūl al-fiqh* also establishes the theory of juristic practice to deduce additional laws that cannot be directly derived from the revealed sources.

[51] See Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ᶜĀmilī, *Wasāᵓil al-shiᶜa ilā taḥṣīl masāᵓil al-sharīᶜa*, 4th ed., 20 vols. (Beirut: Ihya' Turath al-Arabi, 1391/1971), 1: 60, quoting al-Barqī's *Kitāb al-maḥāsin*. For other traditions on this, see also al-Muẓaffar, *Shahāda*, 9.

[52] See Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Ṣadr, *Durūs fī ᶜilm al-uṣūl*, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dar Kitab al-Lubnani, 1399/1978), 2: 204, 3: 258 [part 1], for details of this principle.

[53] al-Muẓaffar, *Shahāda*, 11.

[54] al-Muẓaffar, *Shahāda*, 12.

prophecy, it is recommended to invoke God's blessings on the Prophet (although these are not part of the *adhān*), similarly, it is recommended that the *wilāya* be recited after the *shahāda,* based on the *ḥadīth* cited in *al-Iḥtijāj* and other general traditions. Bahbahānī asks poignantly: "Is there an obstacle to ruling that this be a recommended act? The fact that a report is rare does not mean it cannot be practiced as a *mustaḥabb* (recommended) act." As a matter of fact, Bahbahānī adds, this was Ṭūsī's normal practice. Whenever he comes across a rare report, he recommends that it be acted upon. For example, Ṭūsī rules, based on a report from Ibn Yaqīn, that it is recommended to repeat a prayer if one forgets to recite the *adhān* and *iqāma* at the beginning.[55] In any case, he adds, to speak during the *adhān* and *iqāma* is permissible. If futile speech does not invalidate the *adhān*, then what about an auspicious act (*tayammun*) which bestows blessings?[56]

PRE-MODERN AND MODERN PERIODS

Most of the Qājar rulers (1209–1344/1794–1925) in Iran were committed to upholding Shīᶜism as the state religion, reversing thereby the anti-religious policies of Nādir Shāh (d. 1160/1747). Aqā Muḥammad Khān (d. 1212/1797), the first Qājar king, reaffirmed this commitment when he was crowned Shāh in 1210/1796. His pious nephew Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh (d. 1250/1834) continued his religious policies by building mosques and commissioning the composition of Shīᶜī theological works. He also built the Fayḍiya theological college in Qum[57] and took special pains to show respect to the *ᶜulamāᵓ*.[58] Under these favorable conditions, the religious centers and Shīᶜī *ᶜulamāᵓ* flourished.

Shīᶜī jurists living under the Qājar rulers thus continued to use the *adhān* to assert their religious affiliations. Most jurists of the epoch concurred with the rulings of post-Safavid jurists. Jaᶜfar b. Khiḍr al-Najafī Kāshif al-Ghiṭāᵓ (d. 1228/1813), for example, maintained that, if one remembers the Commander of the faithful with the intention of exhibiting his status, manifesting his preponderance, or to refute the views of the opponents and defy the obstinate ones, then he will be rewarded for it.[59] Given the favorable ambiance in which the Shīᶜīs now found themselves, the *wilāya* in the *adhān* was used as a polemical weapon to demonstrate the preponderance of the Shīᶜī faith. For Kāshif al-Ghiṭāᵓ, the polemical function that the *wilāya* performed could outweigh the objections of the likes of al-Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī. As a matter of fact, Kāshif al-Ghiṭāᵓ further declares that mentioning the *wilāya* of ᶜAlī in the *adhān* is not sufficient to indicate ᶜAlī's preponderance because the term *wilāya* has diverse meanings and could be used in different ways. Moreover, all believers are friends (*awliyāᵓ*) of God. In order to differentiate ᶜAlī from and elevate him above all other friends of God, he says, it is better to state that ᶜAlī is the *khalīfa bilā faṣl* (the successor to Muḥammad without any interruption), or the Commander of the faithful, or the best of creation after the Prophet. Moreover, he adds, by doing this, there will be no doubt in the minds of the masses that this statement is not a part of the *adhān*. For Kāshif al-Ghiṭāᵓ, the *wilāya* in the *adhān* was not a mere declaration of faith or statement of a cardinal doctrine. It was to be used as a badge of identity to show the superiority of ᶜAlī over the other caliphs and to assert his immediate succession to Muḥammad.

Al-Faḍīl al-Narāqī (d. 1244/1828) claims that *tawallī* (the view that the segments must follow each other in sequence without interruption) is not a stipulation of the *adhān* or the *iqāma*. Neither is it specified that the segments of the *adhān* should not be separated. So pronouncing the *wilāya* does not contravene the conditions of the *adhān*. He asks poignantly: how can one be permitted to utter futile words during the *adhān* and yet not be allowed to state the truth? The fact that reports concerning the *wilāya* are rare, al-Narāqī adds, is not an impediment in ruling that the *wilāya* is a *sunna*. This is so because jurists often accept rare reports and rule that it is recommended to undertake an act based on these kinds of narrations based on the principle of *al-tasāmuḥ*.[60] The jurists foresaw, however, a possible danger that lay ahead for the Shīᶜī laity, i.e., that through continuous practice, the *wilāya* could appear to many to be an integral part of the *adhān*. Despite a continuous reminder that the *wilāya* was not a part of the *adhān*, any caller to prayer could recite it without being aware of this distinction. The Shīᶜī jurists countered this by disclaiming their own responsibility. Jurists like al-Faḍīl al-Narāqī stated that the fault lay with the ignorant masses who, despite several reminders, were not aware of the ruling on the issue. Others recommended that the *wilāya* be recited in a different manner so that it would become apparent that it was not a part of the *adhān*. Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Qummī (d. 1231/1815), for example,

[55] See Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām fī sharḥ al-Muqniᶜa*, 10 vols. (Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyya, 1365/1945), 2: 279. The fact that Ṭūsī contravenes his normal practice (i.e., he does not recommend the recitation of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* based on rare reports) suggests that he did not find the reports on it to be reliable. This is not pointed out by Bahbahānī.

[56] As cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 392.

[57] Arjomand, *Shadow*, 218.

[58] A. Lambton, *Qājar Persia* (London: Tauris, 1987), 286.

[59] Cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 394.

[60] Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 396.

states in his *Jāmiᶜ al-shitāt* that it ought to be recited only once in the *adhān* and that it be totally omitted from the *iqāma*.[61] However, for the Shīᶜī laity, the *wilāya* had become an integral segment of the *adhān*. Few, if any, distinguish it from other parts of the *adhān*.

Post-Majlisī II jurists had to vindicate not only the popular practice of reciting the *wilāya* but they also had to deal with the vexing problem of explicating the prohibition by earlier jurists. In his *Burhān al-fiqh*, Sayyid ᶜAlī Baḥr al-ᶜUlūm (d. 1298/1880) maintains that the verdict of al-Ṣadūq, Ṭūsī, and other jurists is a product of their own personal reasoning (*ijtihād*). The fact that there are general traditions (like the one cited in *al-Iḥtijāj*) obviates the need for a report specifically recommending the *wilāya*; that is, even though there are no specific reports regarding the *wilāya*, Ṭabarsī's general tradition is enough to rule that it is a recommended practice. Just as there are reports suggesting that whenever the name of the Prophet is mentioned, it is recommended to send blessings on him, similarly Ṭabarsī's tradition indicates that whenever the *shahāda* is recited, it is recommended to recite the *wilāya*. The *adhān* and the *iqāma*, says Baḥr al-ᶜUlūm, both fall under this category.[62]

Despite the emerging consensus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the *wilāya* be recited as a part of the *adhān*, dissenting views were also expressed. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, many Shīᶜīs refused to recite it. Thus, the aforementioned Jaᶜfar Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ had initially asked Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh to ban the innvation.[63] Later in that century, the *ᶜulamāʾ* of India encouraged the community to abandon the practice but it failed to do so.[64] Similarly Maḥmūd b. Mirza ᶜAlī al-Naqī (d. 1300/1882), the author of *al-Mawāhib al-sanniyya*, refutes the arguments of Majlisī II and other Shīᶜī jurists. He declares that due to lack of evidence, the *wilāya* cannot be recited even as a recommended segment of the *adhān*. The tradition in *al-Iḥtijāj* cannot be used as proof for permitting the *wilāya* since it, like many other traditions, merely mentions the excellencies of ᶜAlī, indicating thereby his general virtues. The tradition in *al-Iḥtijāj*, like other traditions about the merits of ᶜAlī, merely indicates the superiority of ᶜAlī, and is not linked to the *adhān* or the *iqāma*.

Mirza ᶜAlī al-Naqī adds that, as for the *wilāya* traditions referred to by erstwhile scholars, they are not to be acted upon because the scholars considered them to be rare and fabricated. He admits that previous Shīᶜī jurists had maintained that rare and weak reports could be used for ruling in favor of undertaking recommended acts. But the fact that they did not do so in this case shows that they had concurred on abandoning their normal practice in regard to this issue. In essence, Mirza ᶜAlī al-Naqī rejected the verdict of later scholars like Majlisī II that the *wilāya* can be recited as a recommended part of the *adhān*.[65]

Once the *wilāya* was generally accepted, however, reversing the trend was bound to be difficult. Subsequent discussion focused on the basis on which it could be recited and on whether or not it was a recommended part of the *adhān*. Most jurists approved the practice by quoting the arguments of Majlisī I and II and the tradition of al-Ṣādiq cited in *al-Iḥtijāj*.

It is important to note that just as the pre-Safavid jurists agreed on prohibiting the *wilāya*, post-Safavid *fuqahāʾ* concurred in permitting it. Thus the agreement of most later jurists was in stark contrast to the consensus of their predecessors. The arguments advanced by the likes of Majlisī I and II had the effect of convincing subsequent jurists that the *wilāya* could be recited, although not as an integral part of the *adhān*. The pressure of popular practice and the distinct possibility of adverse public reaction forced the jurists to accommodate the *wilāya*, reversing, thereby, the consensus of erstwhile scholars.

Most Shīᶜī jurists of the present century have also ruled that it is recommended to recite the *wilāya*. The late Ayatullāh Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm (d. 1390/1970) goes further in his *al-Mustamsak* stating:

> . . . in this era it [the *wilāya*] is counted amongst the symbols of [true] faith and a sign of Shīᶜism. In this regard, it [reciting the *wilāya*] becomes preponderant according to the *sharīᶜa*; in fact, it could be obligatory [to recite it] but not with the intention of being a part of the *adhān*. From this, the reason stated in [Majlisī II's] *al-Biḥār* becomes clear, i.e., it is not improbable for the attestation of the *wilāya* to be counted as a recommended part of the *adhān*. This is due to the testimony of the Shaykh [Ṭūsī], ᶜAllāma [al-Ḥillī], Shahīd I, and others that traditions have been reported to this effect. This is further supported by the tradition [reported] by al-Qāsim b. Muᶜāwiya cited in *al-Iḥtijjāj* of Ṭabarsī from al-Ṣādiq. . . .[66]

[61] Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 394.

[62] Cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 399.

[63] Modarressi, *Crisis*, 44, n. 140, quoting Akhbārī, *Risālat dar shahādat bar wilāyat*, 181–83. As noted above, he later accepted the practice.

[64] Muḥsin Amīn, *Aᶜyān al-Shiᶜa*, 11 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Taᶜaruf, 1951), 2: 205.

[65] As cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 400.

[66] Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, *Mustamsak al-ᶜurwa al-wuthqā* (Qum: Maktaba al-Mārashi al-Najafi, 1969), 5: 545.

Al-Ḥakīm argues that the purpose of reciting the *wilāya* was not restricted to attaining rewards or blessings. The *wilāya* symbolized Shīᶜī ideals, identity, and aspirations. Thus depending on the circumstances, reciting the *wilāya* could even be made incumbent on the faithful even though, as he cautions, it should not be recited as a part of the *adhān*. Significantly, when referring to the *wilāya* as a Shīᶜī symbol, al-Ḥakīm links it to Majlisī II's statement, thus corroborating my earlier contention that the Safavid era marks the time when the *adhān* began to assume a polemical tenor, serving as a means of defiance and a badge of identity for Shīᶜīs living now under the patronage of the Safavid rulers.

Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī (d. 1377/1957) also disagrees with his predecessors stating that

> those who declared the *wilāya* prohibited have erred and cited an isolated ruling (*shadhdha*). They [even] said it was an innovation (*bidᶜa*). Every *muᵓadhdhin* [reciter of the *adhān*] in Islam recites a few words before the *adhān* which he connects with it. Like in his saying: "Praise be to God who did not take a son . . . " or other [words] like these. . . . These have not been legislated by the Lawgiver (*Shāriᶜ*) in the *adhān* yet they are not considered to be innovations, neither is it certainly prohibited to do so, because the callers to prayer do not see them as being parts of the *adhān*. They merely recite them based on general proofs which include these [words]. Similarly, the attestation to ᶜAlī's *wilāya* after the two *shahāda* in the *adhān* is an act based on general proofs which allow it. Moreover, a few words do not invalidate the *adhān* or the *iqāma*; neither is it prohibited (*ḥarām*) to recite them in their midst, so where did [the question of] innovation and prohibition come from . . . ?[67]

Post-Safavid jurists had to explain the prohibition of the erstwhile jurists, justifying, in the process, the transformation from *bidᶜa* to *sunna*. They did this by various means. Whereas Majlisī I claimed that they had prohibited the *wilāya* due to *taqiyya*, Baḥr al-ᶜUlūm insisted that it was due to the personal reasoning of the earlier jurists. Hence it was not binding on later jurists. Despite the consensus reached by pre-Safavid jurists, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī could still claim that their ruling on the *wilāya* was an isolated one.

Ayatullāh Arākī (d. 1415/1994) states in a treatise entitled "Guidance in matter of the *shahāda* of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* and *iqāma* being a part of them like other parts":

> The author of *Kitāb al-salafa fi amr al-khilāfa*, Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh al-Marāghī al-Misrī, a Sunnī, says that Salmān al-Fārisī attested to the *wilāya* of ᶜAlī in them [*adhān* and *iqāma*] after attesting to the prophecy during the time of the Prophet. A man entered [to see] the Prophet of God and said: "O Prophet of God, I have heard a thing which I have not heard before." He [the Prophet] said: "And what is this?" He said: "After the *shahāda* [testimony] to the *risāla* [prophecy], Salmān bore witness in his *adhān* a *shahāda* to the *wilāya* of ᶜAlī." He replied: "You have heard a good thing."[68]

Thereafter, it is also claimed the eminent companion Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī also bore testimony to the *wilāya* of ᶜAlī following the testimony to the prophecy of Muḥammad in the *adhān*.

A new argument is now added to the debate, i.e., this was practiced at the time of the Prophet, who did not object to it. The Prophet's approbation makes this practice a *sunna*. Ironically, it is from a Sunnī source that a tradition on the *wilāya* in the *adhān* is purportedly cited. It is to be noted that prior to this time, although many arguments in favor of the *wilāya* in the *adhān* were advanced, there was no mention of the *wilāya* of ᶜAlī being uttered in the *adhān* at the time of the Prophet or during the lives of any of the imams. Despite the citation of many traditions about the *adhān* in Shīᶜī juridical works, there is not a single tradition in them which indicates that the *wilāya* was recited in the *adhān* in the times of the Prophet or the imams.

Nonetheless, recent jurists such as Burūjardī (d. 1381/1961), Khumaynī (d. 1410/1989), al-Khūᵓī (d. 1413/1992) and Golpayganī (d. 1414/1993) all consider the *wilāya* to be a recommended act in the *adhān*.[69]

CONCLUSION

Through different lines of arguments, a ritual practice that was previously considered to be *bidᶜa* later became a *sunna*. The reason for this change appears to lie in the need to establish a distinct Shīᶜī identity in Safavid Iran. With the establishment of that dynasty, there was a concurrent need to foster a separate sectarian identity through

[67] Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mūsawī, *al-Naṣṣ wa'l-ijtihād* (Qum: Sayyid al-Shuhada', 1404/1983), 243–44.

[68] Cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 405. See also al-Muẓaffar, *Shahāda*, 35, quoting *Jawāhir al-wilāya*, 349.

[69] As cited in Ustādī, *Kalimāt*, 405–6.

which the Shīᶜīs could be distinguished from non-Shīᶜīs, and thus the *wilāya* was to be intertwined with the *shahāda*. Various arguments were advanced and traditions interpreted inexorably to link the two. In fact, the *wilāya* is frequently referred to as the third *shahāda* (*al-shahāda al-thālitha*). Henceforth, the *adhān* was to perform a wider function than the hitherto restricted liturgical role of calling the faithful to prayer. It was to avow the religious affiliations of the state.

Paradoxically, what distinguished the Shīᶜīs from the Mufawwiḍa at the time of al-Ṣadūq was reversed and was now used to distinguish the Shīᶜīs from non-Shīᶜīs. Stated differently, the distinctive mark of the Mufawwiḍa in al-Ṣadūq's time became, for Majlisī I and subsequent *fuqahāᵓ*, a distinctive emblem of the Shīᶜīs. This was done initially by interpreting a tradition cited in Ṭabarsī's *al-Iḥtijāj*—a tradition which was certainly unknown to the likes of Ṭūsī and al-Ṣadūq. No Shīᶜī scholar earlier than Ṭabarsī had cited this report. Furthermore, al-Ṣadūq's and Ṭūsī's remark that rare (and purportedly unauthentic) reports have been narrated about the *wilāya* were seized upon by the likes of Majlisī I and II to indicate that traditions on the subject were available from the imams, traditions which, although rare and no longer extant, could be used to vindicate the practice. Later on, it was even argued that the practice could be traced to the time of Muḥammad himself who, by his acquiescence, had approved of it.

BIDʿA OR *SIRR AL-ĪMĀN ?*
Modern Shiʿi controversies over the third *shahāda* in the *adhān*

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On 4th November 1949 (*ābān* 1328sh) Shaykh Muḥammad (ibn Muḥammad Mahdī) al-Khāliṣī, a Shiʿi cleric (b. probably 1890), returned to his homeland Iraq after almost 28 years of exile in Iran[1]. As soon as he had crossed the border, Khāliṣī-Zādah – as he was also called – went to his birthplace, the Shiʿi holy city of Kāẓimīya near Baghdad, with the intention of settling there. His return was probably facilitated by Dr. Muḥammad Fāḍil Jamālī, who was twice Iraqi Prime Minister (1953-54) and also held other important government posts[2].

It should be mentioned here that the Khāliṣī family is of Arab origin. Its *nisba* is derived from the name of a *qaḍāʾ* in the province of Diyālā north of Baghdad. Only a few weeks after his arrival in Kāẓimīya, the Shaykh began to engage in religious and literary activities, much as he had been doing in Iran since the early 1920s. A survey of his various activities in the country of his exile (including political contacts, actions or declarations) would fall outside the scope of the present article. Suffice it to say here that many of Khāliṣī's opinions concerning the need for religious reform, as expressed in Iraq from 1949 onwards, had gradually crystallized during his many years in Iran. Valuable, though scattered information about this can be gathered from a number of publications dealing with the life and work of Khāliṣī-Zādah himself as well as that of his father, Shaykh Muḥammad Mahdī al-Khāliṣī (b. 1861), also known as "al-Khāliṣī al-kabīr". The latter had left (or rather was forced to leave) Iraq in 1923 as a result of his repeated protests against British occupation policy in his homeland. He died in Mashhad in 1925[3].

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1. In a number of publications there is uncertainty even about the year of Khāliṣī's return to Iraq. The date given above is based on statements by the Shaykh himself in some of his works (such as *Risālat jāmiʿat madīnat al-ʿilm ilā al-ʿālam*, Baghdad 1954, p. 13), and is corroborated by I. Dabbāgh, *Āftāb-i panhān*, in *Kayhān-i farhangī* (Tehran), X/5 (serial no 100), July 1993, p. 116-121, in particular p. 119. I would like to thank Dr. Khosrow Behrouz for drawing my attention to Dabbāgh's article.

2. E. Kedourie, "The Iraqi Shiʿis and their fate", in M. Kramer (ed.), *Shiʿism, Resistance and Revolution*, Boulder/Col. and London 1987, p. 151, referring to S. G. Haim, "Shiʿite clerics and politics: some recent tendencies", in J. L. Kraemer and I. Alon (eds.), *Religion and Government in the World of Islam*, Tel Aviv 1983, p. 165-172 (concerning Khāliṣī see p. 168). It should be noted that Jamālī himself was of Shiʿi origin and a native of Kāẓimīya. According to al-Wardī (see below n. 3), *Lamaḥāt*, vol. 6, p. 267, it was "Iraqi politics" which made it possible for Khāliṣī to return.

3. For the role of both men see e.g. P. -J. Luizard,"Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khāliṣī (1890-1963) and his political role in Iraq and Iran in the 1910/20s", in R. Brunner and W. Ende (eds.), *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times*, Leiden etc. 2001, p. 223-235; id. (transl.): *La vie de l'ayatollah Mahdî al-Khâlisî par son fils*, Paris 2005; ʿAlī al-Wardī, *Lamaḥāt ijtimāʿīya min tārīkh al-ʿIrāq al-ḥadīth*, vol. 6, Baghdad 1976, *passim*, in particular p. 201-53 and 264-67; I. Dabbāgh, *Āftāb* and Ṭāriq al-Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Khāliṣī, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa ʿan ḥayāt al-imām al-Khāliṣī al-kabīr*, Baghdad 1969 (this last mentioned

After his return to Kāẓimīya in 1949, Khāliṣī-Zādah relaunched a *madrasa* there which had been founded by his father. He succeeded in turning it into an institute of some repute called *Jāmiʿat madīnat al-ʿilm*[4]. By the 1950s Khāliṣī had become a prominent figure in Iraq. His lectures and sermons - all aiming at a kind of conservative reformism - attracted large crowds[5], and his publications were read and discussed by many (mainly Shiʿi) readers in Iraq and elsewhere. However, a journal called *Majallat jāmiʿat madīnat al-ʿilm,* which appeared in 1954, was forced to cease publication after the sixth issue, probably for political reasons.

Over the years Khāliṣī launched a number of press campaigns against "foreign" ideologies such as Communism and secular Arab nationalism, and also against what he considered dangerous trends or schools of thought within Islam. In particular his repeated polemics against the Shaykhīya[6] reveal a high degree of hatred and intransigence[7].

As was only to be expected, his words and deeds soon elicited sharp reactions from a number of quite different circles and individual authors, including some Shaykhīs, but also Sunni Salafīs and others. A detailed account of these reactions would go well beyond the scope of this article[8]. Rather, the following pages will focus on one particular aspect of Khāliṣī's attempt at religious reform. This was his appeal to both Shiʿis and Sunnis to enter into a peaceful dialogue, to eliminate what he considered prejudices and misunderstandings and finally to reach if not unity at least a kind of rapprochement (*taqrīb*). In order to achieve this goal, he stressed that both sides must radically revise some of their established (but, in his opinion, unlawful) practices.

publication is not available to me). A rather hagiographic description of Khāliṣī-Zādah's activities in Iran is ʿAlī Akbar Aʿlam, *Maẓhar-i diyānat wa āzādī*, Tehran 1944.

4. The name is related to the prophetical tradition: *anā madīnat al-ʿilm wa-ʿAlī bābuhā*. For more details about this tradition see n. 5 of my "Success and failure" mentioned in n. 8 below.

5. This was noted even by European visitors to Iraq at the time, such as M. Reisch, *Im Auto nach Koweit*, Vienna 1953, p. 213-226, who also provides two pictures of Khāliṣī in Kāẓimīya: one showing him standing on a *minbar* while preaching, and the other walking in the midst of his followers (I owe this reference to Prof. Georg Krotkoff). For a number of similar pictures see e.g. the last pages of *Al-ḥaqq yadmagh al-bāṭil* (below n. 56).

6. For the Shaykhiyya in general, see D. MacEoin, "Shaykhīya", *EI*², vol. 9, p. 403-405, and for its presence in Iraq see e.g. M. Litvak, *Shiʿi Sholars of Nineteenth-century Iraq,* Cambridge 1989, index p. 254. For Basra in particular, to which a considerable number of Shaykhīs had migrated from the 19th century onwards, see R. Visser, *Basra, the Failed Gulf State*, Münster/Westphalia 2005, index p. 237.

7. One of many examples is his pamphlet *Al-shihāb al-thāqib fī rajm al-malāḥida wa-l-shaykhīya wa-l-nawāṣib,* Baghdad 1955. In another he directly attacked the Shaykhī community of Basra (*Al-Baṣra tastaʾṣil shaʿfat al-shaykhiyya*, Baghdad 1951). A leading Shaykhī author of the time, Abū al-Qāsim b. Zayn al-Ābidīn (d. 1969), has described the results, in Iraq, of Khāliṣī's pogrom-like agitation. His booklet is called *Riḥlat Baghdād wa-shakwā al-malhūf.* It was published in Kerman (1371q/1951-1952²).

8. Additional information on the controversies caused by Khāliṣī can be found in two earlier articles of mine, viz. "Erfolg und Scheitern eines schiitischen Modernisten: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Mahdī al-Ḫāliṣī (1890-1963)", in M. Klöckler and U. Tworuschka (eds.), *Gottes ist der Orient, Gottes ist der Okzident: Festschrift für Abdoldjavad Falaturi zum 65. Geburtstag*, Cologne and Vienna 1991, p. 120-130, and the revised and slightly enlarged English version of it (transl. P. Camiller), "Success and failure of a Shiʿite modernist (...)", in A. Monsutti, S. Naef and F. Sabahi (eds.), *The Other Shiʿites. From the Mediterranean to Central Asia,* Bern 2007, p. 231-244.

Unlike many other spokesmen of Islamic ecumenism, Khālisī did not content himself with general statements in favour of Islamic brotherhood etc., but strongly recommended practical measures[9]. As far as his own community, the Twelver Shi'is, was concerned, he demanded that they no longer neglect the Friday congregational prayer (*ṣalāt al-jum'a*); rather he deemed it obligatory, as it had been (according to him) in early Islam. Secondly, he condemned the so-called "third *shahāda*" in the *adhān* and in the *iqāma* (see n. 34 below) as an unlawful innovation (*bid'a*).

In both cases, he claimed, this revision (or cleansing) of religious practice within Imāmī Shi'ism would pave the way for a mutual understanding between Sunnis and Shi'is, enabling them to pray together and – at an unspecified time in the future – achieve more or less complete unity. As a general principle, Khālisī declared, it was necessary for the Twelver Shi'a to jettison the vestiges of *ghulūw*, which, over many centuries, had infected their religious thought and practice[10].

The most important of Khālisī's many works[11] in which he explained his reformist positions is a book called *Iḥyā' al-sharī'a fī madhhab al-shī'a*. The first of its three volumes appeared in Baghdad in 1951, the second and third in 1957. Already volume 1 attracted considerable criticism from various sides. According to one 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Khaṭīb, an assistant of Khālisī's, within a few years almost 60 polemical writings had been published against the first volume of the *Iḥyā'*. Many of the authors, he claimed, were Shaykhīs[12].

The dispute escalated further when a number of Grand Mujtahids in Iraq and in Iran intervened. This was mainly a result of the fact that the first volume of the *Iḥyā'* had been translated into Persian[13]. In addition, an abridged version was published both in Arabic and Persian[14]. Khālisī and his followers were thus able to reach a much wider public in Iraq and Iran, and exert their influence over a growing number of Shi'is there and far beyond. For many of the Grand Mujtahids, Khālisī's ambitious activities in general and his demands for religious reform in particular were unacceptable. They were forced to take action when they felt their own prestige was under threat. The crisis heated up when, in their ripostes, some of Khālisī's adherents dared to criticize certain mujtahids for their reluctance to support, or their outright rejection of, the reforms he had proposed. While Khālisī

9. For a general survey of attempts in modern times to reach some kind of rapprochement (*taqrīb*), and at the same time for a sober analysis of the problems involved see R. Brunner, *Islamic Ecumenism in the 20th Century*, Leiden and Boston 2004. Concerning Khālisī, see index, p. 429f.

10. Strong criticism of what he considered *ghulūw* is a leitmotif of his *Iḥyā' al-sharī'a* (see n. 12-14 below). Obviously he considered the Shaykhīya the most dangerous form of *ghulūw* in modern times; see e.g. *Al-shihāb al-thāqib*, p. 11-17.

11. Lists of his publications (in Arabic and Persian, including translations from one language to the other) are to be found in Kūrkīs 'Awwād, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn al-'irāqīyīn* (3 vols., Baghdad 1969), vol. 3, p. 235-239; also Dabbāgh, *Āftāb*, p. 119f.; Yūsuf As'ad Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabīya*, vol. 4, Beirut 1983, p. 258-61 (based on 'Awwād); Khān Bābā Mushār, *Mu'allifīn-i kutub* (...), vol. 5 (Tehran 1964), cols. 449-453; Iḥsān Yārshāṭir (ed.), *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi čāpī-yi fārsī*, vol. 3, Tehran 1973, index p. 71 and also Khālisī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 1, 1965², p. *'ayn –ṣād*.

12. 'Awwād, *Mu'jam*, p. 235. A second edition of Khālisī's three volumes appeared in 1965 (*ibid.*).

13. *Ā'īn-i jāvīdān*, Qom 1952.

14. An abridged version of vol. 1 was published under the title *Al-islām sabīl al-sa'āda wa-l-salām* (Baghdad 1953); a Persian translation, entitled *Ā'īn-i dīn yā aḥkām-i islām*, appeared in Qom in 1956.

himself for some time refused to be drawn into the polemics against his *Iḥyā'*, a number of his assistants – most probably with his encouragement – launched a series of counter-attacks.

One book appears to be particularly important in this respect: *Al-i'tiṣām bi-ḥabl allāh, fī sīrat al-imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,* which openly criticized the attitude taken by Ayatollah Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm (d. 1970) with regard to Khāliṣī's demands for reform. Like many other polemical writings of the time - both in favour of and against Khāliṣī - this (anonymous) booklet, which was printed in Baghdad in 1955, is not available to me. Fortunately, its content, as well as that of other relevant *munāqashāt* and *rudūd* can be gauged, to some extent, from quotations which are to be found in a number of contemporary or later publications[15].

The authorship of *Al-i'tiṣām* is uncertain. 'Awwād lists it among Khāliṣī's writings, but some of the Shaykh's own publications (as well as those written by his acolytes) attribute this tract to an unnamed student of the *Jāmi'at madīnat al-'ilm,* or to several members of this institution collectively[16]. At all events it is safe to assume that Khāliṣī endorsed its contents in one way or another.

The booklet was intended to reiterate Khāliṣī's proposed reform, in particular with regard to Friday prayers and the *adhān*, for the broad public. He soon, however, became mired in controversy. After many years of exile, Khāliṣī was considered a newcomer to the Shi'i *milieu* in Iraq, and not yet recognized as an Ayatollah. This had not prevented him from criticizing personally, or through the mouthpiece of his followers (allegedly including an ordinary student), a Grand Mujtahid such as Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, and, indirectly, several other leading Shi'i scholars[17]. This was clearly considered beyond the pale by many believers in Iraq and elsewhere. Even the memory of his father as a staunch defender of the Shi'a and of Iraqi independence, which was still very much alive in Iraq and Iran, could not shield him from severe criticism. The Iranian author Muḥammad Sharīf Rāzī, for instance, in his *Ganjīnah-yi dānishmandān* calls him the "unworthy" son of a great father. He duly praises Shaykh Muḥammad, i.e. al-Khāliṣī al-kabīr, for all his virtues and achievements, but then strongly censures his son Khāliṣī-Zādah:

> He had a son who was the diametrical opposite of his venerable father: Shaykh Muḥammad Khāliṣī-Zādah showed scant respect towards his late father and also towards the infallible Imams. He neither believed in *tawassulāt*[18] nor in any spiritual matters or miracles. He reviled many of the great *fuqahā'* and *marāji'*, and anyone else who disagreed with his opinions and fundamental beliefs. He considered Friday prayers an individual duty (*wājib 'aynī*) and declared those who opposed him in this view to be unbelievers[19]. Once I had a debate with him in Kashan. I

15. For generous help in my attempts to acquire this rare material I would like to thank Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī, a son of Shaykh al-Khāliṣī, and also Prof. Georg Krotkoff of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Many thanks are due also to a number of other colleagues, and in particular to Dr. Rainer Brunner (Paris).

16. 'Awwād, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 235, n. 8. *Al-ḥaqq yadmagh al-bāṭil* (below, n. 56) hints that an anonymous student of Khāliṣī's is the author (p. 22, 27, 37), while in *Al-shihāb al-thāqib*, p. 23, the editor speaks of a *nukhbat asātidhat jāmi'at madīnat al-'ilm* who had produced this work.

17. See e.g. the criticism of al-Ḥakīm's *fatāwā* concerning congregational Friday prayers in *Al-ḥaqq yadmagh al-bāṭil*, p. 40ff.

18. Any form of striving for God's favour by seeking the intervention of saints.

19. For this controversial issue see below n. 23.

told him frankly that he was essentially a Wahhābī. He said: "I accept *shafā'a*[20], but consider all these *tawassulāt* to be *shirk*". My answer was: "You are a Wahhābī Mu'tazilī! In short, you are neither a real Shi'i nor a real Sunni"[21].

The above passage gives a measure of the severe criticism which Khāliṣī encountered first in Iran and then in Iraq. First among the reasons for that were his efforts to revive the congregational Friday prayer. This aroused the wrath of many *'ulamā'* and lay persons alike[22].

Admittedly Khāliṣī was not the first Shi'i leader to actively pursue the revival of the *jum'a* congregational prayer, and in so doing to criticize the many authorities of his *madhhab* who, in view of the continuous absence of the Mahdi, did not consider it incumbent upon the community of believers. In fact there has been a very long debate in Imāmī Shi'i Islam over this issue, not only in Iraq and Iran, but also in Northern India and elsewhere[23].

In 1941, one of Khāliṣī's contemporaries, the distinguished scholar Muḥammad Taqī Mūsawī Khwānsārī (d. 1952), took the initiative of leading Friday congregational prayers himself[24]. In a number of publications which appeared in Iraq from 1949 onwards, and particularly in two devoted exclusively to the topic, Khāliṣī tried to expound his views concerning the obligatory nature of the congregational Friday prayer[25]. As mentioned above, this proposed reform, coupled with Khāliṣī's appeal to drop the so-called third *shahāda* from the *adhān,* met with resistance from the majority of both the *mujtahidūn* and the *muqallidūn* in Iraq and beyond. Within a few years, the controversies over the two issues had become increasingly intertwined. Passions became inflamed, as even the titles of many of the pamphlets and counter-pamphlets show[26]. A few examples will suffice here to illustrate the tension which, it should be noted, was further exacerbated by Sunni Salafī attacks

20. Intercession, in particular by the Prophet Muḥammad on the Day of Judgement; see A. Schimmel, "Shafā'a", *EI²*, vol. 9, p. 177-179.

21. *Ganjīnah*, vol. 1, Tehran 1973, p. 230. For the religious context of Rāzī's remarks see M. Glünz, "Das Aussergewöhnliche als Bestandteil der Biographie (...)", in *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies,* part. II, Rome 1990, p. 389-401.

22. For a few more details see e.g. S. A. Arjomand, "Ideological Revolution in Shi'ism", in id. (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism,* Albany, N.Y. 1988, in particular p. 187-189.

23. For a useful survey see art. "Emām-e jom'a" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 8, Costa Mesa (Cal.), 1998, p. 386-391 (H. Algar); further: A. A. Sachedina, *The Just Ruler (al-sulṭān al-'ādil) in Shī'ite Islam*, New York and Oxford 1988, p. 177-204 and A. J. Newman, "Fayd al-Kashani and the rejection of the clergy/state alliance: Friday prayer as politics in the Safavid period", in L. S. Walbridge (ed.), *The Most Learned of the Shi'a* (...), Oxford 2001, p. 34-52. The extent of internal Imāmī Shi'a controversies over this issue is evident from the long list of relevant titles (no 430-533) mentioned in Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Al-dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-shī'a*, vol. 15, Beirut 1983², p. 62-88.

24. Abdul-Hadi Hairi, "Khwānsārī", *EI²*, vol. 4, p. 1028.

25. The first, *Al-jum'a: kitāb fiqhī istidlālī fī wujūb ṣalāt al-jum'a* (...), appeared in Baghdad already by the end of 1949, i.e. only a few weeks after Khāliṣī's return to Iraq; in the second entitled *Al-jum'a al-jāmi'a*, Baghdad 1951², the author pointed out the importance of a revived Shi'i Friday prayer for a future rapprochement with the Sunnis. For an earlier statement of his opinion see his *Kashf al-astār* (in Persian), Tehran 1323sh/1944, p. 41-50.

26. See my aforementioned articles "Erfolg und Scheitern", p. 130, or "Success and failure", p. 243, in both cases n. 41; also 'Abd al-Jabbār 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Fihrist al-maṭbū'āt al-'irāqīya,* vol. 1, Baghdad 1978, p. 177-180.

against the Shi'a in general and against Khāliṣī in particular[27]. The bulk of the polemics against Khāliṣī, however, originated from Shi'i circles – both Shaykhī and "orthodox".

In one pamphlet Khāliṣī was compared to Musaylima, the rival of Muḥammad, while in another one he was called a "madman" (*majnūn*). Even the people of Kāẓimīya, it was claimed by one author, had distanced themselves from Khāliṣī. One of his enemies, most probably mindful of the repercussions of the international cold war on the Iraqi political scene of the 1950s, found it appropriate to expose Khāliṣī's contacts with Soviet diplomats in Tehran in 1923[28]. It is natural then that, after his return to Iraq in 1949, Khāliṣī tried to emphasize his fundamental hostility to Marxism – for instance in a booklet written in Persian in which he attacked the Iranian Communist Party, and in particular one of its openly atheistic pamphlets, and also in a number of chapters in some of his other publications[29]. In this connection it should be mentioned that in the 1940s and 1950s Marxism proved attractive to many Shi'is in Iraq, in Iran and elsewhere, and won a number of followers even among the scions of prominent Shi'a *'ulamā'* families[30]. This appeal of Marxism was seen as a serious threat to their own position by many Shi'i clergymen and notables alike. So, in spite of all the criticism which Khāliṣī had caused as a result of his reformist positions, at least his anti-communist agitation met with the approval of these circles.

Nevertheless, Khāliṣī was subjected to continuous attacks from various (mainly Shi'i) factions and individuals. Some of them shamelessly slandered him, claiming for instance that he cherished ambitions to be considered the long-awaited Mahdi[31].

Even more dangerous for his status as a leading Shi'i scholar was the accusation that he was a Wahhābī. This reproach had been levelled against him by a number of his co-religionists (such as Sharīf Rāzī) even before his return to Iraq (see above). While it is quite probable that Khāliṣī had been influenced by Sunni Salafī writings at a relatively early stage, to call him a Wahhābī – in the strict sense of the term – is, of course, absurd. While it is true that in some of his writings in the 1950s he expressed a measure of admiration for King 'Abd al-'Azīz, known as "Ibn Sa'ūd" (d. 1953), his intention was merely to praise the Saudi ruler and a few of his

27. For the polemics of Maḥmūd al-Mallāḥ, a Sunni Salafī from Mosul, see "Success and failure", in particular p. 235-237, and the literature mentioned there.

28. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār al-Kāẓimī, Al-*Khāliṣī, Musaylimat al-qarn al-'ishrīn*, Najaf 1955; 'Abd al-Mahdī al-Fā'iq, *Al-Khāliṣī al-majnūn fī ḥam'at al-akādhīb wa-l-buhtān*, Baghdad 1955; 'Abd al-Ḥusayn 'Abd 'Alī, *Al-kāẓimīyūn barī'ūn min al-Khāliṣī*, Baghdad 1955; id., *Hādhā huwa al-Khāliṣī kamā waṣafahu al-kāẓimīyūn li-fakhāmat al-Jamālī*, Baghdad 1955 (concerning Jamālī, see above n. 2); Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Baghdādī (perhaps a pseudonym), *Muwāfaqat al-Khāliṣī ma'a safīr Rūsīyā al-balshafīya*, Baghdad n.d. For Khāliṣī's contacts with Soviet diplomats see e.g. Luizard, *La vie de l'ayatollah Mahdî al-Khâlisî par son fils*, p. 301f. and 312 ff. and the additional literature mentioned in n. 41 of my "Success and failure".

29. *Rāhzanān-i ḥaqq wa ḥaqīqat* (...), Baghdad 1951, a refutation of *Nigahbānān-i siḥr wa afsūn* (a publication of the Tudeh Party). Another example of Khāliṣī's anti-communist attitude is to be found in his booklet *Al-tawḥīd wa-l-waḥda*, Baghdad 1954, p. 12-25.

30. S. Naef, "*Shī'ī-shuyū'ī* or: how to become a communist in a holy city" in Brunner and Ende, *The Twelver Shia*, p. 255-267.

31. I. al-Haidari, *Zur Soziologie des schiitischen Chiliasmus*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1975, p. 149f.

aides for their pragmatism and flexibility (even in religious matters) as opposed to the fanaticism and backwardness of the majority of his Wahhābī followers[32]. Nevertheless, the label – which in a Shiʿi environment can prove fatal – stuck. It was used against Khāliṣī and his adherents not only during his lifetime, but also after his death. A number of more recent polemics published in Pakistan are a case in point[33].

The above instances are intended to illustrate the atmosphere – particularly in Iraq – in which the debate triggered by Khāliṣī's attempt to eliminate the third *shahāda* from the Twelver Shiʿi *adhān* was conducted. For a better understanding of the fervent disputes sparked by his exhortation to abandon this practice it is necessary briefly to review the historical development of the Shiʿi *adhān* (the origin and significance of the formula *Ḥayya ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal,* another shibboleth of the Shiʿa, will not be discussed here).

There is a number of studies, including some in Western languages, concerning the topic of the Shiʿi *adhān*. It will suffice here to mention three articles by Joseph Eliash, I. K. A. Howard and Liyakat A. Takim[34]. Unlike Eliash and Howard, Takim devotes a chapter to "pre-modern and modern periods" (p. 174-176), but he fails to mention either Khāliṣī or the debate about his proposed reform of the third *shahāda*. Takim draws the bulk of his information about the modern period from a publication written by a certain Riḍā Ustādī, whom he is unable to identify. The text in question (originally a modest treatise) is entitled *Kalimāt al-aʿlām ḥawla jawāz al-shahāda bi-l-wilāya*. Its author is not wholly unknown in the contemporary Shiʿi literature of Iran, or in the recent religious politics of that country. Ustādī (b. 1937 in Tehran) is at present (winter 2007) one of the official Friday prayer leaders of Qom and also a member of Iran's Assembly of Experts. He is referred to as "Ayatollah" in the local media. According to a report carried by Fars News Agency, since 1971 he has published 47 books and 150 articles, and revised and edited 33 religious texts written by other authors[35].

It is admittedly not easy to locate the *Kalimāt al-aʿlām*. Fortunately, Ustādī has republished it in a collection of ten of his treatises called *Dah risālah*. The first edition of this book was probably printed in 1991. The second appeared in Qom in 1380sh/2001, with the *Kalimāt*, as Chapter 10, occupying p. 384-417.

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32. See e.g. *Risālat jāmiʿat madīnat al-ʿilm ilā al-ʿālam*, p. 15.

33. Seyed Hussain Arif Naqvi, "The controversy about the Shaikhīya tendency among Shiʿa *ʿulamāʾ* in Pakistan", in R. Brunner and W. Ende, *The Twelver Shia*, p. 135-149, in particular p. 144, 146 and 148. Concerning the *Khāliṣīyat-Nāma* mentioned there (first published 1986, in Urdu), I would like to thank Dr. Andreas Rieck who, in a private letter, provided me with a detailed survey of its content.

34. Eliash, "On the genesis and development of the Twelver-Shīʿī three-tenet *shahādah*", *Der Islam* 47 (1971), p. 265-272; Howard, "The development of *adhān* and *iqāma* of the *ṣalāt* in early Islam", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 26 (1981), p. 219-228, esp. p. 227f.; Takim, "From *bidʿa* to *sunna:* the *wilāya* of ʿAlī in the Shīʿī *adhān*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120 (2000), p. 166-177. The articles "Adhān" in *EI*² and *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-islāmīya* (in Persian, ed. Bujnurdī) are generally useful, but not really informative with regard to our subject matter, i.e. the third *shahāda*. For the *iqāma*, the second call to the ritual prayer, see T. W. Juynboll, "Iqāma", *EI*², vol. 3, p. 1057.

35. Takim, "From *bidʿa* to *sunna*", p. 168 n. 15; FNA, Persian, no. 8501180202 of 18/01/1385sh/2006. A considerable number of Ustādī's publications are to be found in Princeton University Library, see www.catalog.princeton.edu.

As a copy of the *Dah risālah* reached me only recently, a mere few remarks (supplementary to Takim's article) must suffice here. There is a short paragraph in the preface to the second edition in which the author explains the aim of his *Kalimāt*. According to him, there is serious disagreement among believers about the third *shahāda*. An extreme position amounts to the notion that any Shi'i who omits it in the *adhān* or in the *iqāma* thereby becomes a Sunni. On the other hand, he says, there is the erroneous idea that the third *shahāda* is a *bid'a*.

In order to emphasize the importance of his refutation of these two extreme positions, Ustādī claims that the *shahīd* Murtaḍā Muṭahharī (d. May 1979) had once endorsed his treatise and encouraged him to make it widely known[36].

In fact Ustādī begins his collection of relevant statements with Ibn Bābūyah's famous denunciation of the third *shahāda* as a *bid'a* (see below). The majority of the authors he quotes, however, corroborate the opinion that the third *shahāda* is recommended (*mustaḥabb)* – but in the qualified sense that it must not be considered an integral part of the *adhān* (in the subtitle of the *Kalimāt*, as reprinted in *Dah risālah*, p. 383: *ma'a 'adam qaṣd al-juz'īya*). He concludes his enumeration of authorities who have spoken out in favour of this position with statements by Ayatollahs of the 19th and 20th centuries such as Mīrzā Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī (d. 1895), al-Khū'ī (d. 1992), Khumaynī (d. 1989) and others. It is obvious that Ustādī himself espouses the compromise reached by the majority of Shi'i scholars in modern times (see below). It is therefore hardly surprising that he does not even mention Khāliṣī and his position.

Before returning to the latter's attempt at suppressing the third *shahāda* in the *adhān* and in the *iqāma*, a short description of the previous stages of the debate surrounding this controversial issue is appropriate.

While Muslim and Western authors may disagree about some details of the development of the Shi'i *adhān*, there appears to be a virtual consensus about the following positions: early Imāmī literature does not show conclusively how and when the practice of a three-tenet *shahāda* in the *adhān* originated. It was not generally known in the early centuries of Islam. There is only one reference to it in the four canonical works of Imāmī *fiqh*[37] – Ibn Bābūyah (or Bābawayhi) al-Qummī, also known as al-Ṣadūq (d. 991), strongly condemns the third *shahāda* as a heretical innovation (*bid'a*). In his *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh,* after mentioning the different elements of the *adhān*, he insists on the authenticity of the traditional two-tenet *shahāda*[38]. He then continues:

> This is the correct *adhān*. Nothing should be added to, or omitted from it. The *mufawwiḍa*[39], may God curse them, have fabricated reports (*akhbār*) and have added to the call to prayer (the words) *Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad are the best of (God's) creation (khayr al-barīya),* (reciting it) twice. In some of their traditions, after uttering "I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh",

36. *Dah risālah*, p. 6.

37. The three authors of the four works are Kulaynī (d. 940), *Al-kāfī*; Ibn Bābūyah, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh* and Ṭūsī (d. 1067 or 1068), *Tahdhīb* and *Al-istibṣār.*

38. For more Shi'i literature on the *adhān* see H. Modarressi (Ṭabāṭabā'ī), *Introduction* to *Shī'ī Law,* London 1984, p. 142f.

39. For the term *tafwīḍ* and the extremists called *mufawwiḍūn* see H. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam*, Princeton 1993 p. 21-29 and 38-49.

(they add) "I bear witness that ʿAlī is the friend of Allāh", (reciting it) twice. Among them there are others who declaim instead: "I bear witness that ʿAlī is the true Commander of the Faithful", twice. There is no doubt that ʿAlī is (indeed) the friend of God and that he is the true Commander of the Faithful and that Muḥammad and his family, peace be upon them, are the best of mankind. However, that is not (part) of the original *adhān*. I have mentioned this so that those who stand accused of fabricating (the doctrine of) *tafwīḍ* and have insinuated themselves into our ranks will become known[40].

It should be noted here that the Shi'i belief in the pre-eminent spiritual authority of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib - as a result of his being the *walī* of Allāh - dates back to early Islam. It is deeply rooted in Imāmī Shi'i thought and has never been contested within this school. This holds true also for those who, in the past as well as in modern times, have striven to eliminate the third *shahāda* from the *adhān*. Shaykh al-Khāliṣī is a case in point. Nevertheless in their polemics against him, some of his enemies accused him of deliberately undermining the basic belief in ʿAlī's *wilāya*. To some extent he and his followers were able to refute this calumny (quoting first and foremost Ibn Bābūyah's pertinent statement just mentioned), but they were clearly not completely successful in deflecting public wrath from Khāliṣī.

Generations of leading Imāmī Shi'i scholars espoused the same position concerning the *adhān* as Khāliṣī. Among them we find al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 1277), al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 1325), al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 1384), al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 1558) and many others[41].

Despite all these authoritative statements, the third tenet of the *adhān* seems to have become increasingly popular among the masses of Twelver Shi'i believers. This process may have been buttressed, inter alia, by various legends that Imam ʿAlī enjoyed pre-eminent favour with Allāh from time immemorial. One of these widespread traditions, found in a basic work, viz. Kulaynī's *Kāfī*, and later quoted in many works of Shi'i devotional literature, is the notion that the formula *ʿAlī amīr al-mu'minīn* was engraved on the upper part of God's throne[42].

In addition, the political interests of some Shi'i dynasties seem to have played a decisive role in the proliferation, in Imāmī Shi'i lands, of the third *shahāda*. According to some modern authors, the religious propaganda of the Safawids was

40. *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, ed. Sayyid Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Kharsān, vol. 1, Najaf 1957[4], p. 188f.; see transcription and translation of this passage in Eliash, "Genesis and development", p. 267; also Takim, "From *bid'a* to *sunna*", p. 166f.

41. See Takim, "From *bid'a* to *sunna*", p. 168f., also Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 43.

42. See E. Kohlberg, "Some Shīʿī views of the antediluvian world", *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980), p. 41-66, esp. p. 44. This tradition and other similar ones are adduced also in works of the 20th century; see e.g. the preface by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Muwaḥḥid to Muqarram, *Sirr al-īmān* (n. 49 below), p. 13-15, and Ḥā'irī, *Aḥkām* (n. 48 below), p. 201. For more information on ʿAlī's *manāqib*, miracles etc. see the article on him in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Yarshater, vol. 1, London 1985, in particular p. 843-844 and 846f. (E. Kohlberg), and also R. Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes*, Wiesbaden 1987 (= Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 11), index, p. 475. It should be noted here that Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī devoted several volumes (i.e. *juz'* 35-40) of his monumental work (n. 44 below) to Imam ʿAlī and his pre-eminent position. With regard to the semantic complexity in Shi'i Islam of the term *wilāya* (or *walāya*) see M. A.Amir-Moezzi, *La religion discrète : croyances et pratiques spirituels dans l'islam shi'ite*, Paris 2006, p. 177-207.

particularly important in this respect. In contrast to that, Nādir Shāh's attempt - at a later period - to ban the third *shahāda* was not successful[43].

It comes as no surprise, then, that two of the most influential Imāmī scholars of the Safawid period, Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī (d. 1659) and his son Muḥammad Bāqir (d. 1699 or 1700) tried to justify the popular practice of reciting the third *shahāda* in the *adhān*. They did so by casting doubt on Ibn Bābūyah's use of the term *mufawwiḍa*, by impugning his claim that the reports concerning the *adhān* which the *mufawwiḍa* had adduced were all fabricated, and by citing earlier (although rare) reports to the effect that reciting the *wilāya* of ʿAlī in the *adhān* is considered to be a recommended act (*mustaḥabb*). While conceding that it was no *integral* part of the *adhān*, Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī sanctions its recitation in the call to prayer as follows: whoever utters the *wilāya* solely in order to attain *baraka* (i.e. without the intention of making it an integral part of the *adhān*) is certainly not a sinner. As a result of the argumentations he put forward, what was long considered a *bidʿa* slowly became a *sunna*[44].

A number of Shiʿi scholars of the 17th century and later, being mindful of the opinion of earlier authorities such as Ibn Bābūyah, refrained from unconditionally endorsing the third *shahāda* as being *mustaḥabb*[45]. Popular practice, however, took a different tack: the uneducated masses of believers considered their *ṣalāt* invalid without the third *shahāda*, and thus felt it to be an integral part of the Shiʿi call to prayer.

This was the situation in the middle of the 20th century, when Shaykh al-Khāliṣī launched his campaign. The dilemma facing those Shiʿi *ʿulamāʾ* who continued to harbour reservations about the third *shahāda* but did not dare to openly criticize the way it was practised has been aptly described by Abdoldjavad Falaturi (d. 1996). For one reason or another, though, Falaturi makes no mention of Shaykh al-Khāliṣī and his role in the modern debate about the third *shahāda*[46].

A comprehensive study of this debate - in particular in Iraq - would be a worthwhile project. It might shed light on many aspects of Shiʿi religious and political life in that country - not only in the 1950s. With regard to the *content* of the debate, however, it is unlikely that the theological and *sharīʿa*-related arguments contain many "new" points. Even the fragmentary material at my disposal clearly shows that the basic terms of the dispute stem directly from the positions described above of Ibn Bābūyah on the one hand and of the two Majlisīs on the other.

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43. For the Safawids see Takim, "From *bidʿa* to *sunna*", p. 169 ff.; for Nādir's attempt see E. S. Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran*, Gainesville (etc.) 2006, in particular p. 38-42.

44. Takim, esp. p. 171f. Both Ibn Bābūyah's statement (as quoted above) together with Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī's critical commentary on it are to be found e.g. in the latter's *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 29/84, Tehran 1390q/1970 (Al-Maktaba al-Islāmīya), p. 111f.

45. Takim, p. 174f.

46. "Die Zwölfer-Schia aus der Sicht eines Schiiten. Probleme ihrer Untersuchung", in *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, ed. E. Gräf, Leiden 1968, p. 77f. As an example of the ensuing ambivalence, Falaturi expressly quotes Ayatollah Burūjirdī (d. 1961), with a passage from his *Tawḍīḥ al-masāʾil* – the criticism of a (Sunni) mufti of Herat who asks the Shiʿi scholars of Mashhad about the obvious discrepancy between the position of some of their early authorities such as Ibn Bābūyah on the one hand and what he considers the devious practice of present-day muezzins on the other is mentioned in Ustādī, *Kalimāt* ; see *Dah risālah*, p. 408.

Perhaps the most important of the few "modern" arguments adduced in this debate is Shaykh al-Khāliṣī's notion that no real rapprochement between Sunnis and Twelver Shi'is is possible unless the latter drop the third *shahāda* from the *adhān*. More or less all of his Shi'i critics retorted that the third *shahāda* was not only a recommended act, but also the cornerstone (*rukn*) or secret (*sirr*) of the true faith, the perfection (*kamāl*) of religion, the symbol (*ramz*) of Shi'ism and its distinguishing mark (*shi'ār*) which must not be abandoned. Statements to this effect are to be found in the writings of many renowned scholars. These include Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm Ṭabāṭabā'ī (d. 1970), the highest Shi'i authority of his time, who has already been mentioned above in connection with the controversial issue of Friday prayers.[47] As far as Khāliṣī's Shaykhī critics are concerned, they usually follow one of their leading 19th century scholars, Muḥammad Karīm Khān al-Kirmānī (d. 1870)[48].

A Shi'i notable from Najaf by the name of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram (d. 1971 or 1972) tried to prove in his *Sirr al-īmān* that the third *shahāda* was in fact "the secret of the faith"[49]. The name of Shaykh al-Khāliṣī is apparently not mentioned in this tract, but in view of the date of its original publication we may safely assume that it was intended as a contribution to the debate taking place at the time. Perhaps the most useful feature of the supplement to the reprint of this work, which was added by one Shaykh Qumayḥā, is a table of 100 statements and *fatāwā* by Shi'i *'ulamā'* (from the two Majlisīs down to the present *rahbar* of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Sayyid 'Alī Khāmana'ī) in favour of the third *shahāda*, i.e. of its being a recommended act[50]. The list provided by Qumayḥā may serve as a starting point for any further study of the discussions (especially in modern times) among Twelver Shi'is about this issue. Certainly it would complement Riḍā Ustādī's aforementioned treatise as well as the collection of *fatāwā* published by one Jāsim Muḥammad al-Gulgāwī in 1955 in Baghdad, which was subsequently reprinted in Kerbela[51].

In addition to the printed works enumerated in the three publications mentioned above and in others (such as al-Baṣīr's book, see below, n. 63), there is an unknown number of polemics, mainly written during the heyday of the debate,

47. Concerning the third *shahāda* as the symbol of Shi'ism, see his commentary on Ibn Bābūyah's verdict in his *Mustamsak al-'urwa al-wuthqā*, vol. 5, Najaf 1969³, p. 545 (*ma'dūd min sha'ā'ir al-īmān wa-ramz ilā al-tashayyu'*). The publication of the first edition of this monumental work (14 vols.) began in 1368h/1948-9 in Najaf.

48. *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, no. 51: *al-rasā'il al-fiqhīya*, Kerman 1351sh/1972, p. 257. For a more recent Shaykhī author, see Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥasan al-Ḥā'irī, *Aḥkām al-shī'a*, vol. 2, n. p., [Kuwait] 1972², p. 200, no 275.

49. First published in Najaf in 1374q/1954-1955; reprinted, with a preface by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Muwaḥḥid (dated 1985) and with a supplement by Shaykh Nazīh al-Qumayḥā, Beirut and Mreijeh (Lebanon) 1996². About Muqarram see 'Awwād, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 265-267 and Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī, *Mu'jam rijāl al-fikr wa-l-adab fī al-Najaf khilāl alf 'ām*, Najaf 1992, vol. 3, p. 1231f. According to Amīnī, Muqarram – who was a Sayyid himself – was known for his extraordinary love for the *ahl al-bayt*.

50. *Sirr al-īmān*, reprint, 1996², p. 171-179.

51. Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Al-dharī'a*, vol. 14, p. 257, no. 2460, and (with a somewhat differing title) 'Awwād, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 232. Gulgāwī's publication is not available to me.

which exist only in manuscript[52]. It is difficult to determine whether or not these writings have any additional value.

Further, there is indirect - usually rather vague - evidence, in many cases based on oral tradition, in favour of or in opposition to Khāliṣī's position. An episode concerning his own father may serve as an example here: in order to impress his adversaries, Shaykh al-Khāliṣī claimed that his widely revered parent had publicly distanced himself from the practice of the third *shahāda*. According to the son, Khāliṣī "al-kabīr" had done so during World War I when meeting Nūr al-Dīn Bey, the commander of the Ottoman 6th Army in Iraq. Answering a question put by the Turkish (Sunni) general regarding the issue of the Shi'i *adhān*, he explained to him that the third *shahāda* was merely one of the unlawful innovations introduced by the *ghulāt,* and that the scholars of the Imāmī Shi'a were unanimous in rejecting its inclusion in the *adhān*[53].

It goes without saying that not only Shi'i divines as well as laymen from Iraq and Iran, but also a considerable number of their co-religionists from Lebanon, Pakistan and other countries participated in the debate of the 1950s. In some cases the authors involved were closely linked (by family ties or as former students) to the Shi'i centres of learning in Iraq and even to some of the leading *'ulamā'* residing there. Thus, the two Lebanese scholars 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 1957) and Muḥammad Riḍā Shams al-Dīn (d. 1958) had been living in Iraq for some time and were well informed about the religious and political situation in that country in general and in the Shi'i holy cities in particular[54].

To the best of my knowledge, Sharaf al-Dīn has written only one short passage on the issue of the third *shahāda* (without mentioning Shaykh al-Khāliṣī on this occasion). As a result, however, of his prominence in Shi'i circles (even well beyond Lebanon and Iraq), and also because of the importance of the book in which the passage is to be found, it is often quoted even today. In his work *Al-naṣṣ wa-l-ijtihād* (first published in Najaf in 1956), the author makes the point that a *mu'adhdhin* may certainly add a few pious words to his call to prayer, provided he does not consider them an integral part of the *adhān*. The testimony concerning 'Alī therefore in no way invalidates the *adhān*. He concludes by saying: "So where does (the false judgement) that this is *bid'a* and *ḥarām* come from, and what is the aim in the present time of sowing discord among Muslims ?"[55]

Shams al-Dīn was more outspoken. In a treatise of about 20 pages called *Al-shī'a wa-l-Khāliṣī* (published in Najaf in 1955), he vigorously criticized Khāliṣī's opi-

52. See e.g. Muḥammad Ḥasan Kubba al-Baghdādī and his *Risāla fī al-adhān wa-l-iqāma wa-stiḥbābihā*, as mentioned in *Al-dharī'a*, vol. 11, p. 48, no 294.

53. Apparently the episode was mentioned in *Al-i'tiṣām* (above n. 16); the relevant passage is quoted in al-Baṣīr's book (below n. 63), p. 26. For the contacts between the elder Khāliṣī and the Turkish general, see Luizard, *La vie*, p. 168-180.

54. On Sharaf al-Dīn (incidentally, the uncle of Imam Mūsā Ṣadr of Lebanon), see *EI²*, vol. 9, p. 314f. (W. Ende); for Shams al-Dīn see Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī, *Mu'jam rijāl al-fikr*, vol. 2, 1992², p. 757.

55. Sharaf al-Dīn, *Al-naṣṣ wa-l-ijtihād*, Najaf 1964³, p. 225 (Beirut 1988¹⁰); see also Takim, "From *bid'a* to *sunna*", p. 176, and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr, *Al-fatāwā al-wāḍiḥa*, vol. 1, Beirut 1981⁷, p. 387. For more information about Sharaf al-Dīn, see S. Mervin, *Un réformisme chiite,* Paris, etc. 2000, p. 430 and index p. 509. As far as Sharaf al-Dīn's attitude towards Shaykh al-Khāliṣī is concerned, it may be of some relevance that he too was born in Kāẓimīya.

nion on the third *shahāda*. This text, like so many other pamphlets relating to that controversy, is very difficult to obtain. Fortunately it was reproduced (and "refuted") shortly after its publication in a book entitled *Al-ḥaqq yadmagh al-bāṭil*. The latter is a defence of Khāliṣī's position. In it, the Shaykh himself, and apparently some of his followers, comments at length on Shams al-Dīn's critical remarks[56].

Soon afterwards, it became clear that Shaykh al-Khāliṣī had lost the battle - not only in Iraq, but also in Iran, Lebanon and elsewhere. Within a few years the opinion that the third *shahāda* was no *bidʿa* at all, but a recommended act (*mustaḥabb*) and, moreover, the symbol of Shiʿism and the esoteric mystery of the faith, had prevailed throughout.

In the second half of the 20th century, a generation of former students of Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, Ḥusayn Burūjirdī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūʾī, ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn and others came to dominate the interpretation of Imāmī doctrine in all parts of the Shiʿi world. This is also true with regard to the details of the *adhān*. As an example we may mention Rūḥullāh Khumaynī (d. 1989), the leader of the "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. In his *Tawḍīḥ al-masāʾil* he repeated the opinion expressed by his teacher Burūjirdī with regard to the third *shahāda* almost verbatim. There is a very similar statement made by Grand Ayatollah Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ārākī (d. 1994) in one of his *fatāwā*[57]. Another example of a Shiʿi divine who, at least in principle, subscribes to the same opinion is the Lebanese scholar and social leader Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḍlallāh. It is true that in one of his *fatāwā* he concedes that the *istiḥbāb* of the third *shahāda* is not absolutely certain, but he concludes that merely to utter it does not invalidate the *adhān* and *iqāma*[58].

A curious development is a recent tendency to find evidence, against the opinion of the majority of the *ʿulamāʾ*, that the testimony of the *wilāyat ʿAlī* and its public pronouncement in the *adhān* already existed at the time of the Prophet. The latter is even said to have endorsed it. According to Takim, Ayatollah Ārākī has hinted at such an event in a tract by quoting a Sunni author, one ʿAbdallāh al-Marāghī al-Miṣrī, who in turn referred to an episode involving the first *muʾadhdhin*, Bilāl, and Salmān al-Fārisī[59]. It is still too early to hazard a guess as to how this rather fanciful attempt will be received.

As far as Iran is concerned, it should be noted that a number of recent publications have vigorously upheld the opinion that the third *shahāda* is definitely *not* a

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56. For Shams al-Dīn's treatise, see ʿAwwād, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 167, and Muḥammad Hādī al-Amīnī, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt al-najafīya*, Najaf 1966, p. 226, no. 889; for *Al-ḥaqq yadmagh al-bāṭil* see ʿAwwād, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 236, no 21. Shams al-Dīn's text is reproduced on p. 9-39.

57. Khumaynī, *Risālah-yi tawḍīḥ al-masāʾil*, Tehran, n.d. (Intishārāt-i Ismāʿīlīyān), p. 148f.: the third *shahāda* is not a part of the *adhān* or the *iqāma*, but it is good (*khūb*) to pronounce it after the testimony to Muḥammad's prophethood, i.e. as an expression of the wish to gain God's favour (*bi-qaṣd-i qurbat*); Ārākī: *Al-masāʾil al-wāḍiḥa*, vol. 1, Beirut 1994, p. 165, no 912 (*lā baʾs bi-hā... bi-qaṣd al-qurba*). For Burūjirdī's earlier, very similar statement see above n. 46. See also Takim, "From *bidʿa* to *sunna*", p. 176.

58. *Al-fatāwā al-fiqhīya*, Beirut 1995[4], p. 71f.

59. Takim, "From *bidʿa* to *sunna*", p. 176. For the author mentioned by Ārākī, i.e. Marāghī (d. 1414, who is generally known as Abū Bakr, but also as ʿAbdallāh), see Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, vol. 3, Damascus 1957, p. 60 with n. 1. The title (*ibid.*) of the work to which Ārākī refers should be *Al-sulāfa*, not *Al-salafa* (...). According to Takim, it has been claimed recently that Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī also bore testimony to the *wilāya* of ʿAlī.

part of the *adhān*. In a book intended to foster a rapprochement between Sunnis and Shi'is, one Sayyid Riḍā Ḥusaynī-Nasab stresses this opinion, and insists that the addition of *any* sentence to the *adhān* is a disapproved act (*ghayr mustaḥsan*). He mentions that Shi'is are criticized for that practice, but does not elaborate on this point[60].

With a high degree of probability the author can be identified with a person bearing the same name, who was head of the Islamic Centre (Islamisches Zentrum) in Hamburg from 1999 to 2003. This religious institute, which is built around the so-called Imam 'Alī Mosque there, was founded in the 1950s by a number of Shi'is living in Germany. However, successive heads of the Centre, including Muḥammad Bihishtī and Muḥammad Khātamī, have always sought to attract Sunnis to visit the mosque and to pray there. To this end, the third *shahāda* has usually been omitted from the call to prayer at this mosque (oral information first received in 2007, and confirmed in 2008 by a former head of the Centre).

It is not clear what exactly Ḥusaynī-Nasab had in mind when mentioning outside criticism of the third *shahāda*. Perhaps he was referring to a number of relevant *fatāwā* issued in this connection by earlier or contemporary Sunni authorities, such as 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, the Shaykh al-Azhar from 1973 until his death in 1978. In a *fatwā* explicitly dealing with the *iḍāfāt al-shī'a li-l-adhān,* including the third *shahāda*, he declared that any addition to the recognized wording was a mendacious act against God's will, a deviation from the *sunna* and therefore a great sin (*kabīra*). Its result was unrest and confusion within the Muslim community. Although the wording of this *fatwā* is not excessively polemical, its content is in line with the critical and sometimes vitriolic statements of Sunni Salafī authors concerning the third *shahāda*. One of them, the Iraqi Maḥmūd al-Mallāḥ (d. 1969), once asked: What if the Sunnis chose to add the sentence "Abū Bakr is the friend of God" to the *adhān*?[61]

'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd's *fatwā*, although issued from a Sunni perspective, comes close to the position of Shaykh al-Khāliṣī: both point out that the practice of the third *shahāda* or any other addition to the wording of the *adhān* has in fact damaged the unity of the *umma*.

Certainly Khāliṣī's position (and Ibn Bābūyah's for that matter) did not disappear completely. In recent years, though, it has been espoused almost exclusively by outsiders such as the radical dissident Mūsā al-Mūsawī (d. probably in 1998), a grandson of Grand Ayatollah Abū al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1946), in some of his publications from the late 1980s onwards[62].

A somewhat unusual case in this connection is a book written by one 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr. It first appeared in a rather unlikely place, the provincial town of Kūm Ḥamāda, Egypt, in 2005. Moreover, the publishing house which distributed it, *Maktabat al-riḍwān,* has become known for a number of extremely polemic,

60. Sayyid Riḍā Ḥusaynī-Nasab, *Dar ṭarīq-i waḥdat-i islāmī,* Qom 1987, p. 18-20, in particular p. 20.

61. For Maḥmūd's statement, see *Fatāwā al-imām 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd*, vol. 1, Cairo 1981, p. 426; for Mallāḥ see above n. 27. His hypothetical question concerning Abū Bakr as *walī Allāh* is to be found in his book *Al-mujīz 'alā al-wajīz wa-mabāḥith ukhrā,* Baghdad 1956, p. 102.

62. J. Siddons, "Die Korrektur der Irrtümer", *Mūsā al-Mūsawī's Versuch, die schiitische Glaubenslehre zu reformieren*, Würzburg 2005, p. 51f.

anti-Shiʿa publications. Al-Baṣīr, however, seems to be of Shiʿi (perhaps Iraqi) origin. The range of his reading in Shiʿi literature is impressive. He speaks respectfully of Shaykh al-Khāliṣī and a number of other divines and quotes them accordingly[63]. On the other hand, his work is not free of direct polemics.

Al-Baṣīr's book, which came to my attention only recently, would deserve a comprehensive analysis. This is not possible within the scope of the present article. Suffice it to say here that his work, in spite of its sometimes erratic argumentation and its flawed presentation of the sources, would appear to be the most important (and provocative) contribution to the controversial issue of the Shiʿi *adhān* in recent years.

In his final remarks, the author himself seems convinced that his readers, having followed his explanations to the end, will ask themselves what the motive behind the continuing practice of the third *shahāda* might be: sheer ignorance, heretical inclinations, or *ʿaṣabīya* and ardent zeal? In any case, al-Baṣīr concludes, it should have become clear to his readers that the Shiʿa must repudiate all these erroneous ideas about the *adhān*, and return to the book of God and the *sunna* of his Prophet[64].

At a time in which the ecumenical tendency within Islam is in deep crisis, it is very unlikely that al-Baṣīr's appeal will be heeded except by very small circles of dissidents. Most probably the shibboleth of the third *shahāda* in the Twelver Shiʿi *adhān* is now as popular as ever, or even more so.

The present situation may be described as follows: on the one hand, there is an increasing tendency among Shiʿis to vehemently assert their religious identity in public – even in an overwhelmingly non-Shiʿi environment. As repeatedly mentioned above, for the majority of Twelver Shiʿis the third *shahāda* is part of this identity. The idea of *taqrīb* may still be there, but it seems that for many it has receded into the background. On the other hand, Sunnis all over the world (including those in countries where there are no Shiʿis) are now, more than ever before, aware of the existence in modern times of the Shiʿa, its followers and its practices. Obviously this new awareness on the part of Sunnis is intermingled with mistrust and misconceptions. Their unease may be exacerbated by Shiʿi-sponsored TV channels (such as those located in Lebanon or elsewhere) whose programmes show religious services. Most probably these services include Friday prayers in which the third *shahāda* is pronounced[65].

Can a Sunni – unprepared as he or she would normally be – accept such a practice as truly lawful? For the time being, the answer must be in the negative.

63. *Al-shahāda al-thālitha fī al-adhān, ḥaqīqa am iftirā'*, Kūm Ḥamāda (province of al-Buḥayra, Egypt), 2005[1]. Shaykh Khāliṣī is mentioned e.g. p. 19, 21, 25f. and 71ff.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

65. As mentioned in an anti-Shiʿi article published in Egypt in 2006 and quoted in *Al-bayyina* (http://www.albainah.net/index.aspx?).